

FALASHA ANTHOLOGY

TRANSLATED FROM ETHIOPIC SOURCES

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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NEW HAVEN

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PREFACE

The English reader has heretofore had no opportunity to acquaint himself with the literature of the Falashas, although a French translation of some Falasha writings, based on a single manuscript, has been available for some time. Recently, however, additional manuscript material has come to light and our knowledge of the life of the Falashas has increased to such an extent that it has seemed desirable to make specimens of this literature available in English.

The present translation is based on texts previously published as well as on manuscripts found in various libraries, especially those in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum. Parentheses have been employed to indicate amplification of the text, while brackets have been used to mark the loss of a word or a passage in the original. In the notes parallels from other literatures have been cited, and textual problems which involve major misprints and misinterpretations or grammatical inaccuracies in the Ethiopic texts themselves have been considered.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to Professor Julian J. Obermann for including this anthology in the Yale Judaica Series and for his valuable suggestions in editing the texts as well as the appended material. Owing to a variety of circumstances, my final draft of the anthology proved to require an extraordinary amount of rewriting, and I am very grateful to the editorial department of the Yale University Press for their generous and painstaking effort in bringing this volume up to the standard of a Yale University publication. To Dr. Emil G. Kraeling I am indebted for his helpful assistance in going over the entire manuscript before it was submitted to the series for publication.

My work has benefited by the cooperation of many Falashas with whom I came in contact in 1947 in Ethiopia, and particularly of my friends Taamrat Emmanuel and Ato Taddese Yakob. To all of them I feel sincerely grateful. The former American Min-

ister to Ethiopia, Mr. Felix Cole, has shown a fine understanding for the study of things Ethiopic and has helped me greatly during my stay in Ethiopia. My particular gratitude goes to His Majesty the Emperor Haile Sellasie, whose sympathetic cooperation in scholarly undertakings has made my research work in Ethiopia in 1947 and 1950 possible and who secured for me the cordial cooperation of his people.

New York,
May, 1951

WOLF LESLAU

INTRODUCTION

Falasha Research

IN SOME REGIONS north of Lake Tana in Ethiopia lives a population of Jewish faith called Falashas. Their historical origin and racial affinities present many difficult problems. Were they originally Jewish immigrants? If so, whence and when did they come to Ethiopia? Or are they a segment of the indigenous population of Ethiopia converted to Judaism? If so, by whom were they converted and when? These questions have occupied all who have dealt with the Falashas.

The name Falasha can best be explained as deriving from the Ethiopic *fallasa*, "to emigrate." The Falashas of the villages of the region of Gondar do not use this name in speaking of themselves. They say either *beta Isra'el*, "the House of Israel," or just *Isra'el*, or use the Cushitic term *ḳayla*.¹ It would seem, therefore, that the term originated among the older native population as a designation for these foreign immigrants and was not invented by the latter themselves.

The sources for our knowledge of the Falashas are of various kinds. Among the oldest testimonies to the existence of Jews in Ethiopia are the reports of Jewish travelers like Eldad Haddani (ninth century), Benjamin of Tudela (twelfth century), Elijah of Ferrara (fifteenth century), and others. Most of these accounts report things of legendary character that lack historical basis, and are presumably based on hearsay. Ethiopia was known throughout the Middle Ages as the country of Prester John and was supposed to be the habitat of the Ten Tribes. This idea excited the curiosity of travelers who vaguely related that there were Jews living in Ethiopia or that Jews had come thither from other countries. There is a more reliable source of information available in the Ethiopian royal chronicles but they unfortunately give no information about the religion or the cultural or social conditions of the Falashas,

dwelling only on the campaigns of the Ethiopian kings against them. We will revert to these events later.

When James Bruce mentioned the Falashas in his important work on Ethiopia ² the curiosity of the western world was at once aroused. Specialists subsequently were further intrigued by the report about these people brought home by the Frenchman Antoine d'Abbadie in 1840. But it was the initiative of English missionaries like Flad, Stern, and others, ³ who saw a promising field for their activities in that quarter, that gave greatest impetus to the study of the Falashas. ⁴ At the same time Jewish circles also became conscious of the advisability of establishing contact with this forgotten component of their people, and the *Jewish Chronicle* of London urged that efforts be made to do this. The Alliance Israélite Universelle sent the noted Semitist Joseph Halévy to Ethiopia to investigate the situation. ⁵ His positive assertions that Jews were indeed to be found in Ethiopia was, however, received with incredulity in some Jewish quarters, and a countermission headed by a Rabbi Nahoum was dispatched. ⁶ In 1905 interest was again stimulated by the report of Jacques Faitlowitch who had visited the Falashas in that year. ⁷ Pro-Falasha committees were created in several countries, including the United States, with the purpose of restoring these people to the general body of Israel.

Most of the reports that have so far been made about the Falashas have been incomplete and characterized by a Christian or Jewish missionary tendency which appreciably diminishes their usefulness and objectivity. For this reason I decided in 1947 to devote some attention to the Falashas in the course of a ten-month expedition which I was undertaking under the auspices of the Guggenheim Foundation and the Viking Fund for the purpose of studying the languages, folklore, and traditional history of Ethiopia. ⁸

In Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, I got in touch with some Falashas, particularly with Professor Taamrat Emmanuel, a man of noble character and one of the finest scholars in Ethiopia, and with Ato Taddese Yakob, the director of Customs of Ethiopia, whose probity is held in high esteem by the Ethiopian gov-

ernment. These men recommended me to the Falashas living in Gondar. There I was greatly assisted by some young Falasha men working for the Ethiopian government, especially by Mellese Tekle who served as my guide and secretary. My stay and work in the region of Gondar were facilitated in the most generous way by Bitwaddad Andarge, governor of the province, a son-in-law of the Emperor, and by the Princess Tenegn Worq. They provided me with mules, tent, kitchenware, guides, and, best of all, a good cook.

I left Gondar on April 8, 1947, accompanied by my cook, two Falasha guides, and some servants of my guides. The news of my departure for Uzaba, southeast of Gondar, a region entirely inhabited by Falashas, preceded me, and after a mule ride of an hour two young Falashas armed with rifles appeared at the top of a hill. This was the vanguard. An hour later I was confronted by some fifty Falashas, young and old, emerging from a thicket, armed with rifles and sticks. The strong, resolute expression of these men and the mountainous surroundings brought to mind the times when the Falashas fought for their independence against the Ethiopian kings. I confess that I was very much impressed by this sight. Accompanied by these fifty men I continued my journey, crossing rivers and valleys and climbing mountains. Shortly before I arrived at Ambworo where I intended to pitch camp, someone blew a trumpet, bringing men from all directions to meet me. Finally the village was in sight, and on the top of a hill just outside it the priests clad in ceremonial garb and all sheltered by umbrellas received me with prayers in Geez (old Ethiopic) accompanied by the beating of drums and sounding of a gong. The old women of the village came too. According to Ethiopian custom they uttered shouts of joy sounding like *ëlëll, ëlëll*.

When we sat down outside my tent I explained to these people that my sole purpose was to acquaint myself with their way of life and manners and to make them known to the outside world. They promised me their cooperation and they kept their promise. It was Passover, and consequently no one worked in the whole village. We gathered every day in the synagogue, priests, old and

young men, and to the best of their knowledge they answered my questions concerning their life. I visited all the neighboring villages and never came back from any of these visits without gifts of a goat, hens, or eggs brought to me from every hut. Each night several young men from the surrounding villages slept outside my tent. They were sent by the elders of the villages who wished in this way to express their respect to the guest. I spent about two weeks in Uzaba, and after that returned to Gondar, whence I undertook another trip to the Falashas of the region of Seqelt.

The information given here is based on what I saw and heard on this journey. (Incidentally it may be suggested that future investigation should enlist the cooperation of the monks who never leave their villages, and are, therefore, more tenacious of otherwise vanishing traditions.) It should be understood, however, that the observations were made in selected localities only and are not to be taken as representing a uniform situation existing throughout all areas. Furthermore I must point out that customs observed by my predecessors appear not infrequently to have fallen into disuse so that my own report will necessarily diverge in several details from earlier accounts.

The Falashas Today

HAVING HEARD VARIOUS OPINIONS expressed about it, I had wondered until I first saw the Falashas whether I should be able to distinguish them from the other Ethiopians and whether they possessed distinctive features. The great majority resemble the Amharas, the main body of the Ethiopian population. Some of them, however, are of a different type, which I came to know only later. When I traveled in Eritrea, the northern part of Ethiopia, I came across the Bogos, a population belonging to the Agaus, the indigenous people of Ethiopia, who in features and face bones resembled many of the Falashas I met in Begemder. Still others possess the facial traits of what is generally called the "oriental Jew." The Falashas themselves claim that they do not differ in physiognomy from the rest of the Ethiopians. The Ethiopians,

according to one of them, recognize a Falasha by the smell of water which attaches to him by reason of his frequent ritual ablutions.

Can it then be said that there is no external mark which distinguishes the Falashas from the other Ethiopians? Certainly there is none in dress. Both men and women dress like Ethiopians. Falasha women, however, crop their hair whereas the Amhara women wear it long. The short haircut gives the women a particularly refined look. Moreover, they wear a necklace called *šamyē* all their lives, whereas the Amhara women wear it only until their marriage (Fig. 1).

The distinctiveness of the Falasha lies rather in their religion and culture. We shall discuss these further on.

The Falashas live sometimes in separate villages, sometimes with the Ethiopian population. In the latter case the Falasha huts form a compact unit, usually apart from the Ethiopian dwellings. Villages, whether Ethiopian or Falasha, are situated near a river, since water is essential for men and cattle, and the Falashas in addition must wash frequently in compliance with their religious precepts. In appearance a Falasha village does not differ from an Ethiopian one. One sees the same circular huts of branches, perhaps covered with mud, and thatched with coarse grass, and the same grain storage bins of dried mud standing around the huts. There is neither chimney for fire nor window for light—merely a door through which smoke goes out and light enters. Some huts, however, are peculiar to a Falasha village. These are the synagogue, the “hut of malediction or of blood,” and the “hut of the woman in childbed.” They will be described in detail later.

There are noticeable characteristics of a Falasha village which indicate the occupations of its inhabitants. Here and there is a hole in the ground and above it a loom. A Falasha is weaving linen. Elsewhere a fire burns, pieces of iron lie around it, and a smith is fashioning utensils such as axes, sickles, and knives. Elsewhere clay is being baked; pitchers big and small, pots and cups, grain storage bins of clay and other earthenware are stand-

ing about on the ground. A Falasha woman is making pottery. These occupations are carried on mostly outdoors during the dry season from October to June or July. Some Falashas also work as masons in the cities.

In the country around the villages they till the ground, plowing with one or two oxen, and sow wheat, barley, or millet. The land, however, is not theirs; they pay an annual amount of wheat to the owner for its use.

The linen, iron, and earthenware are sold either at the market of the nearest city or in the homes and villages. But the Falasha is no more a true merchant than is the peasant who sells produce at the neighboring market. He will not, like an Ethiopian trader or merchant, buy and sell various products, organize a caravan and travel in company with other traders from one part of the country to another. This would necessitate traveling on the Sabbath and eating food not prepared by Falashas. As we shall see, the Falashas' strict religious precepts forbid their traveling or working on the Sabbath or touching food prepared by anyone else. I stress this point because several people who have come in contact with the Falashas claim that trade is prohibited among them. This is not the case. There is no law or prescription against trading, but it is hampered by the conditions referred to above.

We have already mentioned two special huts: that of malediction or of blood (*yamārgam goḡo* or *yadam goḡo*)⁹ and that of the woman in childbed (*yaras goḡo*).¹⁰ These huts are usually at the outskirts of the village, but occasionally at a small distance from it. They are easily distinguished by the low stone walls surrounding them (Fig. 2).

At the beginning of her period a woman leaves her house and enters the hut of malediction or of blood. There she remains segregated for seven days, during which time she is considered unclean. She does no work at all and her family pours water or coffee into her cup over the wall and brings her the native bread or roasted grain without ever touching her. On the morning of the seventh day she washes her clothes and body, spends the whole day at

the outskirts of the village, and at sunset enters her house. When I first took pictures of the hut and the women sitting around it I thought they might be embarrassed, but this segregation seemed to them so natural that they were not even disturbed when the men explained the custom to me in their presence.

At the onset of labor the woman also enters the hut of blood, accompanied by two midwives. These midwives, after delivering the child, wash themselves and their clothes before they return to their families, for until they have done so they are considered unclean. As in nearly all Ethiopian communities, the women of the village utter twelve shouts of joy if the child is a male, nine if it is a female; and both mother and father receive congratulations from the neighbors. If a male is born the parents give the priest a sum of money in keeping with their means, and the child is circumcised on the eighth day. Until that day the mother remains in the hut of blood and is permitted to eat anything but meat. Meanwhile her family builds for her the hut of the woman in childbed. The day the child is circumcised she washes her body and her clothes, enters the hut of the woman in childbed, and stays there for thirty-two days. If a female is born the woman must remain in the hut of blood for fourteen days before she moves to the hut of the woman in childbed, where she stays for sixty-six days. While she is segregated her housework is done by her daughters, or if she has none, by her neighbors. On the last day of her confinement she again washes herself and her clothes, shaves her head, and rejoins her family at sunset. The hut that she had occupied is burned and another is built when the need arises. A feast is given for the relatives and neighbors and the magical Book of Disciples (*ardě'ēt*) is read by the priests.

The Falashas are very eager for education, as are the Ethiopians in general. They could, of course, receive instruction at the government school in Gondar, but the Falasha children do not attend this school because the communities lie at a distance of four to twenty and more hours from Gondar. The children would have to stay in the city, and the question of where they would live and

eat would present great difficulties, as few Falashas live in Gondar. Those Falashas who do live there come in contact with non-Falashas and are therefore considered unclean by their coreligionists of the villages, who would not allow their children to accept food from them.

To remedy this situation the Falashas have established their own schools in the villages. The standards are of course low, but the teachers I met are to be highly commended for their work. They teach without any remuneration at all and even use their own huts when there are no other facilities in the village. They teach from what knowledge they themselves possess. Since they do not know Hebrew it is not taught, but all their pupils learn to read and write Amharic. I once attended an exhibition of physical exercises and observed in the faces of the parents how proud they were of the accomplishments demonstrated by their children.

The Falasha customs are very often only local variations of general Ethiopian customs, but there are a few which are characteristically Falasha.¹¹

The name given a Falasha child may be either Ethiopic or a Hebrew name from the Bible. In Ethiopic usage one finds a combination of two names frequent; the first is the child's own name, and the second that of his father. Thus, for example, Bayyu Adgah would mean Bayyu, son of Adgah. A man may be addressed either by his own or by the combined name. If a Falasha who has a Hebrew name gives his child a Hebrew name, the word *ben* ("son") is used, for example, Yishaq ben Abraham, in the familiar Jewish tradition. But if a Falasha having an Ethiopic name gives his child a Hebrew name, the Ethiopic custom is followed, as in Abraham Adgah.

As already stated the circumcision takes place on the eighth day. If the day for a male child's circumcision falls on a Sabbath the circumcision (*gēzrat*)¹² is performed after sunset; in former days it was postponed to the ninth day. On the day of the circumcision the priest gives the blessings, the father brings un-

leavened bread, and the older people cut it into pieces for distribution among the children of the village, who spend the day singing and dancing.

As is customary nearly all over Ethiopia the girl, too, undergoes an operation or "excision" comparable to the circumcision of the boy, although the Falashas do not set a fixed day for it. The circumcision may be performed by a woman or a man, but under no circumstances is a man permitted to perform an excision. The person who performs either operation must wash completely before he is again considered clean.

When a Falasha girl is nine years old and a Falasha boy is seventeen they are considered marriageable. The parents of a girl send one of their male relatives to a girl's house. He goes without having touched food or drink on that day and asks that the girl be given in marriage to the boy. If the girl's father agrees, the go-between gives him a *thaler* to conclude the agreement; if the answer is no he does not pay anything. If the proposal is accepted the boy's father goes to the girl's father to set the wedding date. The betrothal period may last for two or three years.

The eve of the day on which the newly married woman is brought to the home of her future husband is called *ensaslaye* (a word of Agau origin) and is usually a Sunday or Monday. All the neighbors and relatives are invited to the future husband's house, the priests beat the drum, recite prayers, and afterward tie a colored thread around the forehead of the bridegroom. The bridegroom and his attendants then go to the bride's house for the night. The following noon the groom's attendants and two relatives of the bride carry her into her husband's house. If it is found that the girl has kept her virginity the people bless her and announce the fact to her parents with great joy. If her husband discovers that she lost her virginity before the marriage he removes the thread from his forehead, thereby informing his attendants of the situation. He then goes to the High Priest and swears that his wife had previously lost her virginity. The marriage

is annulled, the woman is excluded from the Falasha community, and no Falasha is permitted to marry her.

In former times a wedding lasted for ten days; at present it is celebrated for only eight days. During all this period the wedding guests sing and dance, but no rejoicing is allowed on Friday and Saturday. No wedding takes place in the month of Nisan, or during the season from July to September because of the heavy rains and the mud.

Like all Ethiopian women, the Falasha woman cares for the children, cooks, draws water, grinds grain, and makes earthenware. She is not kept apart when there are guests but takes an active part in the conversation.

There is no distinctive Falasha custom in connection with divorce (*fěč*).¹³ The reasons for divorce are varied, and the formalities are executed in the presence of the local chief.

When a man is near death he summons a priest and some older people and writes his will or has it written for him. He then confesses his sins and gives the confessor a goat or a sheep. When he is dead four men from the village come to the house to wash his body. These men as well as those who carry the corpse (in most cases they are the same) are considered unclean. For seven days they must live outside the village, but the people furnish them with food and drink. On the third day they sprinkle themselves with water and on the seventh they wash their bodies and clothes, shave their heads, and return to the community.

A man is buried on the day he dies, if there is enough time before sunset; if not, he is buried the next day. It is not permissible, however, to bury a dead person on the Sabbath or on the Day of Atonement. Anyone can dig the grave, whether he is a Falasha, a Christian, or a Moslem, but only the four men who have performed the last sacred offices for the dead person may lower the corpse into the grave and cover it with earth. After the funeral the attendants return to the dead man's house where they eat peas and drink coffee. They do not receive money for their services but if the man was wealthy his family slaughters a bull and dis-

tributes the meat among them. From the time of death until the interment the priests recite prayers of absolution and the relatives lament, and for seven days thereafter the members of the dead man's family do not perform any work. (Incidentally, this is also an Ethiopian custom, as are the following ones.) On the seventh day a "remembrance day" (*tazkar*)¹⁴ is observed, and on the first anniversary of the death the priests recite special prayers in the synagogue and the family slaughters a bull or a sheep for its neighbors and relatives in memory of the deceased.

If a Falasha commits suicide he is not buried in the cemetery but usually in the place where he died. It is not likely, however, that a man who committed suicide in the center of the village would be buried there.

The cemetery is outside the village but not near the synagogue. Stones are heaped over the grave and sometimes a young tree is planted. There are no inscriptions on the graves.-

The Falashas consider the following persons unclean: a woman at the time of her period or in childbed, midwives, one who performs a circumcision or an excision, one who carries a corpse, buries it, or touches a grave, one who touches a dead animal, one who touches any unclean person or thing, one who comes in contact with a non-Falasha, a priest and his wife after intercourse. Any individual considered unclean must live outside the community one or several days depending on the degree of the uncleanness. The day he returns to communal life he washes his clothes and his body and in some cases even shaves his head.

The food and drink of the Falashas are not very different from those of the other Ethiopians. The laws of the Bible concerning animals are strictly observed; the Falashas eat only the flesh of animals that both chew the cud and are cloven-footed. They obey the commandments governing birds and fish which are laid down in the Book of Leviticus.

Like the Ethiopians, the Falashas wash their hands before and after meals. They pronounce a benediction before and after the

meal in the old language of Agau or in Old Ethiopic, a custom not followed by the Ethiopians themselves.

In contrast to the Ethiopians, too, the Falashas do not eat raw meat or the flesh of an animal that has died. They may sell its skin; but it should not be brought into the house and anyone who touches it is rendered unclean. It is forbidden to eat any animal bitten by a wild beast; nor may its milk or butter—if the bitten animal is a cow—be used, but the animal can be sold at the market. The blood, kidneys, lungs, and other internal parts of an animal are not eaten. If a female is slaughtered, they look for the embryo; if they find one still alive they bless it and throw it away; if it is dead they consider the mother to be carrion also and do not eat it.

When an animal falls sick the Falashas do not, like the Amharas, cut its ear to let some blood out in order that they may eat the animal if it dies.

If an animal, whether male or female, develops white spots some time after it has been born, it is called *nazer*; ¹⁵ it is not mated with other animals and is not eaten, but it can be sold.

An animal slaughtered by a non-Falasha will not be eaten by any Falasha, whether a priest or a layman, old or young. If a Falasha goes on a trip and has to cross regions where non-Falashas live, the only food he will take from them will be fresh peas.

The language of the Falasha literature is Geez or Old Ethiopic but the spoken language varies. Those Falashas who live in the regions of central Ethiopia speak Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia; in the northern part of Ethiopia they speak Tigrinya, another important Semitic language of Ethiopia.

From all historical evidence it would seem that the Falashas never have been a Hebrew-speaking people ¹⁶ but that they once had a language different from the one spoken now. It was of Cushitic origin, as are the languages still spoken by the Bogos, Kemants, and other Agau populations. In the mountainous region of Semyen, the northern part of Begemder, the Falashas still seem

to speak some of the Agau dialects such as Quarenya and Khamir. In Uzaba, southeast of Gondar, I came across an old priest from Semyen who still spoke Agau.

The few Falashas who have studied outside of Ethiopia and those who received their education in the no longer existing Falasha school of Addis Ababa know Hebrew. In Ambworo, where the local teacher came to greet me with his school children, who ranged from five to thirteen years of age, I was impressed to hear them reading Hebrew from a prayer book. However they did not understand the meaning of the text, and their pronunciation of the Hebrew words would have seemed strange to one not used to the sounds of Amharic. Their intonation of the song "Hattiqwa" which they sang for me was also peculiar.

There are a few Hebrew words which are known to nearly all the Falashas. They occur either in the prayers or in the Bible and include *Adonai, gadol, saba'ot, el šaday, elohe, Torah, goyim*, and the names of the months of Nisan, Ab, Tamuz (known as Tomos). The former language of Agau is still used in many prayers and benedictions, though in general the priests utter these words without understanding them. As will be seen later, some of the festivals and fasts retain their Agau names and a few common words like *nazer* are also of Agau origin.

Religious Life

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE of the Falashas revolves around the synagogue, which is called *masgid* (Fig. 3).¹⁷

There is a synagogue in every village that has at least one resident priest. There is, however, no specific place for it; it may be within the village or outside it. In appearance the synagogue resembles any Falasha hut; it is circular or quadrangular, thatched with straw, and sometimes surrounded by a hedge. I looked in vain for the broken pieces of clay on top of the synagogue which, according to the descriptions of missionaries and travelers, are supposed to distinguish the synagogue from other huts. It is true that

occasionally there were such pieces of clay, but I also found some on other huts and they serve as an ornament rather than a distinctive mark.

A synagogue according to its size may have two or four entrances; if there are two one of them faces east toward Jerusalem, the other toward the west. Priests and laymen alike may use either entrance; if there are monks living in the village, however, who use the eastern entrance, laymen must use the other.

The synagogues I visited had one or two rooms. The synagogue of Atcharge (*Ačarge*) in Seqelt, where monks live, consists of one room partitioned in the middle by a mud wall as high as a man. The one of Gana in Seqelt is built of stone and is divided into two parts; the outer section is circular but the inner is quadrangular and is called the Holy of Holies (*qëddëstä qëddusan*).¹⁸ (It is interesting to note that the Ethiopian Christian church is divided into three parts with the shrine [*mäqdas*]¹⁸ in the middle.) Only the High Priest, the priest, and the deacon are entitled to enter the Holy of Holies. There the Torah and the ceremonial clothes of the priests are kept. In the synagogue with one room the Torah is usually placed on a board hung fairly high on the eastern wall or suspended from the ceiling, but it may also be kept in the priest's or High Priest's house together with the ceremonial clothes, the sacrificial knife, the umbrellas, and other sacred objects.

The board upon which the Torah is placed and the walls of the synagogue are decorated with drapes of various colors. The altar stands at the northern side of the synagogue. Formerly it seems to have been surrounded by stones but this is no longer the case. In the section where the priests pray there is a bench (*araft* or "place of repose")¹⁹ on which they may rest after finishing the devotions, but there are no benches for the laymen. For the Sabbath and holidays the deacons spread grass and various herbs over the floor to give the synagogue a refreshing fragrance. The light is provided by lamps burning sesame oil.

There is no special section for women. They use the same entrance as the men, but only unmarried and old women are entitled

to enter the synagogue; if young married women wish to participate in the prayers they must stand beyond the threshold. When offerings like beer, coffee, bread, or grain are brought to the priests they are consumed in the synagogue unless there is a special hut nearby where priests and laymen may eat and drink.

When I asked to visit the interior of the synagogue of Atcharge I was not allowed to step upon the floor until a plank had been placed upon it. My young Falasha companions who had forsaken their native village to live in Gondar were no longer considered devout Falashas and were not allowed to enter the synagogue at all.

The service of the synagogue and of the altar is performed by priests. The priesthood is not hereditary and is not confined to any particular family. It is the community which proposes the nomination of the priest, who is called *kahēn*²⁰ in Ethiopic. When a candidate is proposed for election the High Priest and the other priests scrutinize his character and his degree of learning. His family, too, is investigated as far back as the seventh generation. If even one of his family has committed adultery or had any physical defect, the nominee cannot be ordained. After the priest has been approved and elected he brings a goat as sacrifice for the remission of sins and a sheep for the priests; the goat is burned and the sheep is eaten by the priests and deacons. Before he receives his blessing he brings a bull to the synagogue, where he slaughters it himself, and all the people, men and women, eat it in a hut built nearby. The people give money, each according to his means, in order to celebrate the ordination. The High Priest winds a turban around the head of the newly elected priest and invests him with a shirt. The priest may then take up his duties.

A priest is permitted to marry but cannot be divorced except at the cost of being deprived of the priesthood. If he is widowed he can remarry, but only a virgin. If he is divorced he carries the title of learned man (*dabbara*);²¹ he may perform prayers and help the priest in various functions.

The priest is dressed like the other Falashas: tight white or

khaki trousers, a shirt down to the knees, and over it the *šamma* or toga. Unlike lay Falashas, he wears a turban around his head (Fig. 4) as do the Christian Ethiopian priests, but whereas the Christian priest carries a cross in his hands, the *kahēn* has no other special identification.

The priest is helped in several of his functions by the deacon who, if qualified, may eventually become a priest. The deacon may say prayers with the priest; he cuts the bread brought as an offering on the Sabbath or any festival day, prepares the sacrificial animal, spreads the leaves and herbs over the floor of the synagogue, and performs many other duties.

Each important community has a High Priest (*tēllēq kahēn*).²² He is chosen from among the priests after his character and his learning have been examined. If there is a monk in the village he takes over the office and functions of the High Priest.

The duties of the priest and the High Priest are varied. It is the priest, or most often the High Priest, who recites the daily prayers in the synagogue, the prayers of absolution, and the prayers for a deceased person on commemoration days. He also prays for the sick, blesses the circumcised child, the woman who leaves the hut of blood, the newly married couple, and anyone who puts on new clothes. Similarly, it is he who slaughters the sacrificial animal and blesses the Sabbath and festival offerings. Above all, the priest is not only the confessor but also the counselor and the spiritual authority of the entire community.

Like lay Falashas, the priest tills the earth, weaves linen, and even works in iron for his living. The High Priest, however, never engages in the last-named activity because it is considered beneath his dignity. For his special functions the priest receives various honoraria. For the blessings he gives, for the prayers he performs, for the commemoration of the dead he receives money. The first-born of any animal is given to the priest together with a bar of salt, which has the value of money. The priest also receives the first measure of cereal after it has been threshed and is the first to taste the brewed beer and the bread made from the first grain.

The title of the priest is the Ethiopic word *qes*; ²³ it is prefixed to his name, as in *qes Bērhān*.

The monk (*manokse*) ²⁴ also plays an important role in the religious life of the Falashas. The monastic institution is not a Jewish one and its existence among the Falashas is no doubt due to Christian-Ethiopic influence. The Falashas attribute its origin to Abba Šabra, who lived in the fifteenth century, and especially to the son of the Ethiopian king Zar'a Ya'qob (1434-68). Abba Sabra converted to Judaism Zar'a Ya'qob's son, who then instituted monasteries and compiled prayers for the Falashas.

The monks live in a monastery or, if none is available, in huts enclosed by a small stone wall on the outskirts of the village apart from the rest of the community. They have no distinctive garb, but like the priests the monks I visited wore turbans (Fig. 5).

Anyone who is inclined to renounce the world may become a monk. The future monks are, in most cases, servants of the monks; in this way they get used to the monastic life while waiting to receive the consent of their parents to become monks. A monk renounces conjugal life. He is not even supposed to have contact with his fellow Falashas except in his work. The monks and their servants work in the field and prepare their own food and drink. After working with other men they wash out the clothes they have been wearing and change to other clothes.

It may happen that a monk leaves his village or the monastery altogether, goes to live in a deserted place, there receives divine inspiration, and afterward returns to his native village to preach. He is then considered a saint. No doubt some of the Falasha writings are a by-product of such homiletic activity.

In this connection I would like to recall my visit to the monks of Atcharge.²⁵ I went there with two young Falashas from Gondar in the hope of receiving some information concerning the traditions of monks and saints. We spent the night in the village and went to see the monks early next morning. Their two huts were at the outskirts of the community. I had expected to greet

them and shake hands with them, but the villagers explained that no one is allowed to pass over the stone circle which separates the monks' huts from the rest of the village. I had to content myself with sitting down on a stone and conversing with them across the circle.

There were three monks in Atcharge: Abbew Abba Eremyas (Jeremiah), Abbew Abba Dedjen, and Abbew Abba Negga. (A monk or an older man has the title of *abba*²⁶ added to his name; a highly venerated man has the title of *abbew abba*.) They were old and two of them were nearly blind. They either remembered or had heard about the visits of foreign Jews and Protestant missionaries to their people. At first they were reluctant to speak to me, fearing that I was a missionary who had come to convert them. Only when the other Falashas reassured them did they consent to talk with me. Their conversation, or rather their monologue, was a discourse about the Jewish faith, interesting in itself but containing no information about the monastic institution or the saints. The monks were unwilling to address my two companions from Gondar even though one youth was related to a member of the group. In their opinion these young men were no longer Falashas because they had come in contact with outsiders.

There are not many monks in the vicinity of Gondar, but it seems that several live in the Semyen region.

There are also nuns among the Falashas and these too live apart. I had no opportunity to visit them.

An important religious practice of the Falashas is sacrifice (*q^werban*).²⁷ In the region I visited sacrifices are offered only once a year, namely on the fourteenth of Nisan, on the eve of Passover. If the fourteenth of Nisan, however, falls on a Sabbath, no sacrifice is offered. It seems that in other localities they also offer sacrifices at other times and on other occasions.²⁸ It often depends on the economic situation of the community, i.e., whether it can afford to buy an animal and to prepare the bread and beer consumed on these occasions. The Falashas offer sacrifices on an altar

or "area of sacrifice" called *awd*²⁹ and located in the compound of the synagogue at the north side.

The animal may be a bull or a male sheep or goat. It must meet the requirements of the Old Testament, i.e., it must not be blind, lame, or possessed of any other corporal defect. The deacon chooses the animal at the market, but any layman may then buy it for the community.

From other descriptions it seems that a bar of salt (*amolye*) is bought at the same time; this is held over the back of the animal in accordance with the scriptural injunction: "and every oblation of thy meat offering shalt thou season with salt" (Lev. 2:13). The High Priest recites the benediction over the animal; the ordinary priest takes the animal to the altar and slaughters it with a two-edged knife which is used exclusively for this purpose (Fig. 6). He dips the leaves of two (or, according to others, four) different trees in the blood of the slaughtered animal and sprinkles it over the altar and the entrance to the synagogue. Thereupon the animal is skinned. The skin as well as the blood and the internal parts, such as the sinews, fat, kidneys, and bones, are burned, and the ashes are thrown in an unfrequented place. The meat is then washed, boiled, and distributed among the priests and the people. The whole animal must be eaten on the same day. Women do not take part in the sacrifice.

Besides the sacrifices the Falashas bring offerings (*maswa*[']éř) ³⁰ to the priests. On the Sabbath morning or at any lunar and yearly festival the women bring bread and beer to the synagogue as offerings. The deacon accepts them and the priest, turning toward Jerusalem, recites the benediction over them; then either he or the deacon cuts the bread in the middle with a two-edged knife kept exclusively for that purpose in the synagogue or in the priest's house. The priest takes one half and the other half may be given to the deacon and the older people.

Before the women bake the bread which is to be given as an offering to the priest, they go to the river and wash themselves.

The Falashas also bring as an offering a portion of each pitcher of beer that they brew.

The religious service in the synagogue consists primarily of the recitation of prayers (*salot*)³¹ and reading of the Torah. Details about the prayers will be found below in the introduction to the corresponding section (pp. 112-113).

The Torah (*orit*)³² is written in Geez on parchment made of the skin of eatable animals, especially of sheep, goats, and cows. The name applies not only to the Pentateuch but to the entire Old Testament, and the text is identical with that of the Christian Ethiopians. There are forty-six books; in addition to the canonical books various apocrypha and pseudepigrapha such as the Book of the Jubilees, the books of the Maccabees, the Paralipomena of Baruch, the Book of Enoch, the third and fourth books of Ezra, and others are included. It must be stated, however, that no official stand has been taken by the Ethiopian church concerning the canonicity of these additional books.

If the community does not find an experienced Falasha scribe to make a copy of the Torah when it needs one, a text written by a Christian Ethiopian scribe may be used, but it is carefully examined by the priests for allusions to or mention of Christ and the Virgin. In one of the synagogues I even found an Old Testament that had been printed in Germany; it was probably bought by someone in Gondar or in Addis Ababa. Only the handwritten text, however, is venerated and used for readings on the Sabbath or any religious holiday. Unlike other Jews the Falashas do not consider it wrong to put the Torah on the floor, and any Falasha, priest, or layman may touch it. In very important matters which require an oath the Falashas swear by the Torah.

On holidays, during the prayer service, one of the priests reads a selection from the Torah relevant to the particular day; there are no special pericopes for the Sabbath. Since the laymen do not understand Geez, another priest translates the lesson into Amharic.

It is in the observance of the festivals (*bal, ba'al*)³³ and the fast days (*om*)³⁴ that the Falashas differ most from their Christian neighbors. In order to understand the quite complicated

dates of the Falasha festivals a word must be said about the method of computing them.

The Falashas have both a solar and a lunar year. The calendar year is the same as that of the Ethiopians. It consists of 365 days with 12 months of 30 days each and five or six supplementary days. For the computation of the festivals, with the exception of the Festival *arfe asärt*, the lunar year is used. It consists of 12 months which have alternately 30 and 29 days; every fourth year has 13 months.

The Falashas have weekly, lunar, and annual festivals and fasts. Their calendar of religious celebrations runs as follows:

Weekly: Fast of Thursday

• Sabbath

Lunar: 1st day: Festival of the New Moon

10th day: Festival of the Tenth

12th day: Festival of the Twelfth

15th day: Festival of the Fifteenth

29th day: Fast of *mälëya*

Monthly: Festival *arfe asart*

Yearly: 1st moon:

14th day: Fast of Passover

15th—21st days: Feast of Passover

3d moon:

12th day: Festival of Harvest

4th moon:

1st—10th days: Fast of Tomos

5th moon:

1st—17th days: Fast of Ab

3d Sabbath: Sabbath of Sabbaths

6th moon:

10th day: Fast of Our Day of Atonement

18th day: Festival of the Eighteenth

7th moon:

1st day: Festival of the Light Has Appeared or
the Commemoration of Abraham

10th day: Day of Atonement

- 15th—22d days: Feast of Tabernacles
 8th moon:
 29th day: Fast of Supplication
 9th moon:
 12th day: Festival of Harvest
 13th—14th days: Fast of Esther
 11th moon:
 11th—13th days: Fast of Esther

Let us examine the festivals, the reason for them, and the manner of celebrating them.

On the first day of every moon the new moon is celebrated with special prayers performed by the priests alone. The festival is called *yačaraqa bal* (Festival of the New Moon);³⁵ in the language of Quara it is called *sarkī*.

The tenth day of every moon (*asart*, "ten," in Geez,³⁶ *čėki* in Quarenya) is celebrated in remembrance of the Day of Atonement, which is observed on the tenth day of the seventh moon.

The twelfth day of every moon (*asra hulāt*, "twelve,"³⁷ in Amharic, *čėki līngā* in Quarenya) is celebrated in remembrance of the Festival of Harvest which is observed on the twelfth day of the third moon.

The fifteenth day of every moon (*asra ammēst*, "fifteen,"³⁸ in Amharic, *čėki ank^{wa}* in Quarenya) is celebrated in remembrance of the Feast of Passover, observed on the fifteenth day of the first moon, and of the Feast of Tabernacles, observed on the fifteenth day of the seventh moon.

It is interesting to note that these lunar festivals are celebrated especially as reminders of the main festivals and fasts. This shows how eager the Falashas are to observe their annual festivals and to maintain their tradition. With the exception of special prayers, however, no particular ceremonies are observed on these days.

Every calendar month, at a day which varies with every year, the Falashas celebrate the Festival *arfe asart*. The first word is probably of Cushitic origin, the second is the Geez expression for

"ten." Special prayers are said on this day but I could not discover the reason for its celebration.

The annual Passover (*fasika*)³⁹ is celebrated from the fifteenth to the twenty-first days of the first moon. During Passover special prayers are said, accompanied by beating of the drum and sounding the gong. The first and last days are called the holy (days) and no work or travel of any kind is allowed. On the days between (for which the Falashas seem to have no special name) the people do not work but they may go from one village to another to visit relatives and friends.

On the eve of Passover a sacrificial lamb is offered. Throughout the festival the Falashas do not eat or drink anything which is leavened or fermented or which has been kept overnight. They eat a special unleavened bread (*qita*) and drink only coffee and another beverage called *čelqa*⁴⁰ which is made of water mixed with flax or other seeds. They drink milk as soon as it is taken from the cow; once it is creamy it is considered fermented and must be given to the animals or thrown away. At the end of the Passover the first beer brewed and the first bread baked are brought to the synagogue and given to the priests as offerings. The priest blesses the bread, cuts it, and the people recite the Ten Commandments from memory.

The Festival of Harvest (*ma'rar*)⁴¹ is celebrated on the twelfth day of the third moon. The festival starts on the eve of the eleventh day and the harvest is blessed on the following day. The people bring some measures of grain or baked bread to the synagogue and the priests pronounce the blessing in Quarenya. At this festival the Falashas invite one another to the meal and they all eat in the synagogue with the priests.

The Sabbath of Sabbaths (*yasabat sanbat* in Amharic, *zabärabu' sanbat* in Geez,⁴² *langati* in Quarenya) is celebrated on the third Sabbath of the fifth moon. On that day particular prayers like the Prayer of Moses are recited and passages from Exodus, Psalm 119, and the Book of Disciples are read.

The Festival of the Eighteenth (*asartu wasamantu*),⁴³ celebrated on the eighteenth of the sixth moon, commemorates the

death of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The Life of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is read on that day.

The Festival called Light Has Appeared (in Ethiopic *bēḥan sarraqa*)⁴⁴ or the Commemoration of Abraham (in Ethiopic *tazkara abraham*)⁴⁵ is celebrated on the first day of the seventh moon and seems to correspond to the Jewish New Year. On that day Abraham supposedly sacrificed his son Isaac; hence the Life of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is read. In older times they blew the trumpet, but this is no longer done.

The Feast of Tabernacles (in Ethiopic *bā'ala mäsallat*)⁴⁶ is celebrated from the fifteenth to the twenty-second of the seventh moon in commemoration of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt and corresponds to the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles. There are special prayers, but the Falashas do not make the booths required by Scripture. The reason given for the disregard of the ordinance is that the huts in which they live may be regarded as booths symbolical of Israel's sojourn in the wilderness. They spread leaves of various trees, such as the palm or a variety of weeping willow, over the floors of their houses and the synagogue. As at the Passover, the first and the last days are called holy and no work is allowed during the whole festival. On the last day the priests or the deacons carry the Torah in the synagogue, and the people dance in the synagogue.

Finally another Festival of Harvest (*ma'rar*)⁴⁷ is celebrated the twelfth day of the ninth moon as a reminder of the actual Festival of Harvest of the twelfth day of the third moon.

The day celebrated in the strictest manner is the Sabbath. The regulations concerning it are set forth with many details in the Commandments of the Sabbath. In the belief of the Falashas the Sabbath is a *holy person*, with various names such as Luminous, Vivifying, Rejoicing, Beloved, and Guardian. The Sabbath intercedes with God insistently for both the righteous and the sinners. In her conversation with God she often reminds Him that she is a "sign" between Him and her and a witness to the people, and

asks Him to forgive the sinners their evil deeds if only they keep the Sabbath and honor her.

The Falasha women start their preparations for the Sabbath on Friday afternoon. They wash both their bodies and their clothing in the river and then begin to prepare the beer, grind the grain, and bake the bread. The men cease their work at midday and also wash. After sunset the fires in the houses are extinguished, and without the light from the fireplaces, which usually can be seen through the open or half-closed doors, the darkness in the village is complete. No intercourse with women is allowed on that night.

No drum is beaten and no gong is sounded during the Sabbath prayers. No work of any kind is done on the Sabbath; no water is drawn at the river, no fire is lit to prepare food, no coffee is boiled. While they do not fast, except when the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement coincide, only cold food and drink are used on this day. Contrary to their practice at other festivals when they are permitted to visit friends living elsewhere, the Falashas are not supposed to leave the confines of their village on the Sabbath. They may not quarrel on this day, and the usual salutation is *sänbat salam, sanbät salam*, "Sabbath peace, Sabbath peace."

No food or drink is taken on fast days (*som*)⁴⁸ until after sunset although work is permitted except on the most important fast days. Children less than ten years of age are not obliged to fast.

There are weekly, lunar, and annual fasts with special prayers for each.

The weekly Fast of Thursday (*soma amus*)⁴⁹ in remembrance of Ezra's exhortations to the exiled Israelites is observed only by the priests and the older people.

The lunar fast takes place on the twenty-ninth of each moon. Its name is Fast of *malëya* (*soma malëya*); the word *malëya* is of Cushitic origin and may be translated "means which help to observe." It is supposed to be a reminder of the new moon.

The yearly fasts are the following:

The Fast of Passover (*soma fasıka*) is observed on the fourteenth day of the first moon.

The Fast of Tomos (*soma tomos*, the word *tomos* corresponding to the Hebrew *tammuz*) is observed during the fourth moon from the first to the tenth day by the priests and older people. Its origin is unknown.

The Fast of Ab (*soma ab*) is observed during the fifth moon from the first to the seventeenth day, in remembrance of the destruction of Jerusalem. The priests go up to a hill and there pray and prostrate themselves.

The fast called *anaḳēl astar'i* (or *astaryo*) which means "our atonement" (*anaḳēl* being of Cushitic origin) is observed on the tenth day of the sixth moon as a reminder of the Day of Atonement.

The Day of Atonement, called *astarēyo* (or by corruption *astar'ayo*, *astaryo*, or *astar'i*),⁵⁰ is celebrated on the tenth day of the seventh moon. It is considered the most important fast day of all and even if it falls on a Sabbath the fast is strictly observed. The fasting starts on the evening of the ninth. The priests bless the people and pray for the remission of their sins. The people thereupon kiss one another and say "forgive me, forgive me." They pass the whole night of the ninth in prayer as well as the whole day of the tenth. Before the end of the prayers they perform the *emen*, a word of Cushitic origin which seems to mean "reminder." The *emen* consists in putting a handful of millet on stones and leaving it there for the birds in order to commemorate the dead. (As we shall see it is also performed at other fasts.) After the prayers the people bring food and drink to the synagogue, have it blessed by the priests, and then eat it. In former days they blew the trumpet on the evening of the tenth day, but this is no longer done.

The Fast of Supplication (*mēhlēlla*)⁵¹ is observed on the twenty-ninth of the eighth moon. All the people, men, women, and children, carry stones on their shoulders to a hill outside the village. There they put the stones in a circle around the priests

who recite prayers in which all the people participate. This custom of carrying stones is probably to be interpreted, as it is among the Ethiopians, as an act of submission. Various prayers are recited throughout the day; and lessons from the Commandments of the Sabbath, the Book of Ezra, and some prophets are read. Three times on that day, at nine, twelve, and three o'clock, they perform the *emen*. As at all the important festivals and fasts, bread and beer are brought to the synagogue to be blessed by the priests. I could not discover the reason for the observance of this fast.

There are two Fasts of Esther (*somà aster*). The actual fast is observed from the eleventh to the thirteenth day of the eleventh moon and the reason for its celebration is that given in the Book of Esther. Prayers are said and gifts are distributed among the poor. This eleventh moon, according to the Falashas, corresponds to the Jewish month of Adar, which, however, in the Jewish calendar is the twelfth month and not the eleventh. The name Adar resembles the Ethiopian month name Hēdar, which is the third month of the Ethiopian year, but for the Falashas it seems to correspond to the ninth month. This confusion of the names Adar and Hēdar has led the Falashas to observe the thirteenth and fourteenth days of Hēdar as fast days also, but this fast seems to have been observed only in former days.

Religious practices such as prayers, sacrifices, observance of festivals and fasts are but the external expressions of the faith of the Falashas. The outstanding characteristic of a Falasha is his belief in the "God of Israel, the Invisible, the Creator of Heaven and earth." He believes in Paradise, and in Hell, in Angels, in the Resurrection, and in the Last Judgment. All these Falasha beliefs are expressed in the writings found in this anthology. The Falasha also believes in the Messiah Theodore, a descendant of David who will come and reign forty years in Jerusalem and forty years in Ethiopia. Before his arrival every nation will be at war, but in the Messianic era a prophet will appear in the country of the "black" to guide the people, and peace will reign throughout the world.

A Falasha confesses his sins not only before his death but whenever he feels the need for absolution. Each Falasha has a confessor (*yänëssëha abbat*)⁵² who is a priest. He cannot change confessors unless the priest dies or moves to another place. The sinner gives a goat, a sheep, or money to the confessor, who shares it with the other priests. They recite prayers for the remission of the man's sins.

Can a non-Falasha be converted to the Jewish faith of the Falashas? This is rather a theoretical question since it probably seldom happens. There is, however, a procedure which a non-Falasha must follow if he wishes to be converted. He brings a bar of salt to the Falasha priest, and the priest gives him peas which will be his only nourishment for seven days, while his only drink will be water. The priest teaches him the Ten Commandments. On the evening of the seventh day the convert washes his body and clothes, shaves his head, and comes to the synagogue where the priests and the older people are gathered. He carries with him seven rods as a reminder of the seven days. He lies down flat on his face and the priest strikes him lightly, blesses him, casts the rods on the ground at his feet, and recites various prayers. The newly converted Falasha gets up and then prostrates himself again. The priest brings bread from his home and gives it to the people and to the convert.

For what reasons may Falashas be excluded from the community? Most frequently for voluntarily changing faith and adopting Christianity or Islam. Also for marrying non-Falashas or (for women) losing their virginity before marriage. There are probably other causes but these were the main reasons given to me by the priests.

The Literature of the Falashas

THE FALASHA LITERATURE is written in Geez, which is a South Semitic language closely akin to the language of the South Arabic inscriptions and to the modern South Arabic tongues. Like many other languages it became a literary medium through the needs

of Christian missionary enterprise which led to the translating of the Bible. The Gospels were probably translated by the fifth century, and the translation of the Old Testament from Septuagint Greek was finished at the end of the seventh century.⁵³

The classic period of Geez literature was followed by a period of decadence which ended only with the fall of the Zagwe dynasty (1268 or 1270). When Yekuno Amlak (1270-85) established the new dynasty, which claimed descent from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Ethiopic literature entered a new era. Greek had long since ceased to be the language of the adjacent civilized world and Arabic had risen in its place. Even the Coptic church of Egypt, of which the Abyssinian was really a dependency, yielded to its influence and was cultivating a Christian Arabic literature. It was from this quarter then that new influences of Arabic origin streamed into Ethiopic literature. A first landmark in this development was reached in the time of King Zar'a Ya'qob (1434-68). A second was attained when Christian Abyssinia had to defend itself against a renewed onslaught by Islam and prevailed with the aid of the Portuguese, who helped it win a decisive battle in 1543. The third and last landmark was the struggle of the Abyssinian church, which was Monophysite in character, against the Jesuits' attempts to capture it in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the final phases of this struggle the Amharic language began to replace Geez.

Somewhere between the fifth and seventeenth centuries, therefore, the Geez literature of the Falashas must have developed. It could scarcely have existed much before the fifth century, for as we have seen the means of literary expression were only created about that time. Judging from the texts here considered the influence of Christianity upon Abyssinian Judaism was considerable. But it is also apparent that this Judaism had considerable influence on Abyssinian Christianity as well. It will be one of the tasks of the future in this hitherto neglected field of study to trace and evaluate these relationships.

While the Old Testament is the chief body of literature in Geez there are many more Falasha texts, but in the present state

of our knowledge we cannot give an exhaustive account of them. Some of these writings have been published; others exist only in manuscript form either in the Falasha communities or in various European libraries.

The Falashas are not acquainted with the Talmud or with any other Jewish literature except some apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. The Old Testament and above all the apocryphal Book of Jubilees are the sources of their religious laws and precepts. The apocrypha and pseudepigrapha were received by the Falashas from the Ethiopians. The other Falasha writings, too, even though they are unknown today to the Ethiopians, were apparently obtained from Ethiopic sources and indirectly from Greek, Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic material. The most original productions, perhaps, are the Commandments of the Sabbath, the Book of Abba Elijah, and the prayers.

The writings published in this anthology are the Commandments of the Sabbath, the Book of Abba Elijah, the Book of the Angels, Baruch, the Apocalypse of Gorgorios, the Testament of Abraham, the Death of Moses, and some prayers. The reader will find the necessary information about them in the introduction to each text. Falasha writings not included here are the Apocalypse of Ezra and the Book of Disciples. Some other writings, such as the Life of Adam, the Life of Moses, and the Life of Aaron, are also mentioned in various studies on the Falashas, but not much is known about them.⁵⁴

In assembling these texts conveniently in dependable English translation with the necessary annotations I hope to open up this area of oriental intellectual life for students of Jewish and Christian history who may not be familiar with the Geez language and to introduce them to the interesting problems it presents.

History and Origin

THE ACCOUNTS of the Jewish travelers and historians from which one might expect to obtain light on the history and the social conditions of the Falashas are as we have seen based on legendary

information and very brief. In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela speaks about Jews in "India" (a name often given to Ethiopia in the Middle Ages) who had cities and castles on mountains and fought victoriously against the Christians.⁵⁵

More detailed information comes from the Ethiopian chronicles, but one must bear in mind that they relate merely the history of campaigns against the Falashas. It would be a false inference to conclude from the fact that they speak only of war, never of peace, that there were no peaceful interludes in the relations between the Falashas and the Ethiopian kings.⁵⁶

The first mention of relations between the Falashas and the Ethiopians comes from the time of King Amda Şeyon (fourteenth century). The conflict probably arose from political rather than religious motives, but as a temporary result of their defeat the Falashas were forced to adopt Christianity. They soon regained their independence, however. King Zar'a Ya'qob (fifteenth century), a reformer of the Christian-Ethiopian church, the next to declare war against them, did not succeed in vanquishing them.

The successors of Zar'a Ya'qob, especially Lebna Dengel (1508-40), succeeded partially in depriving the Falashas of their political independence and forced them to abandon their faith. When the Moslems under Ahmad ben Ibrahim (called Muḥammad Gagn, the Left-handed) invaded northern Ethiopia in 1536 the Falashas made an alliance with them; but the Moslem domination was far from being agreeable to the Falashas. They turned, therefore, to the Portuguese, who had come at the instance of the Ethiopian king to free the country from Moslem domination.

In 1560 the Ethiopian King Minas failed in his campaigns against the Falashas. However, King Serse Dēngēl Melek Seged (1563-97), a powerful figure in Ethiopian history, succeeded in subjugating them and their chief Rada'i after arduous fighting. In describing these events the Ethiopian chronicler expresses his admiration for the courage of some Falasha women who hurled themselves into an abyss with the cry "Adonai, help me," rather than be captured by the victors.

The Falashas subsequently rose against their conquerors to

regain their independence. We hear about chiefs like Kalef, the brother of Rada'1, about Gushen, and others, but the most powerful of all was Gedeon (seventeenth century). He concluded alliances with the other Ethiopian chiefs and governors who rebelled against King Susneyos. Long and bitter fighting took place, and when Gedeon was finally killed the Falashas had lost their independence forever. They were expelled from Semyen, their residence for many centuries, and dispersed all over the country. Many Falashas adopted Christianity, and from that time on the Ethiopian chronicles make no mention of them.

At present the Falashas live mostly in the regions north of Lake Tana, like Begemder, Semyen, Tigre, but others are scattered throughout the country and are gradually losing their traditions. In former days, even after they had lost their independence, the Falashas had their own chiefs called *bağëronä*, "treasurer." Today the administrative chief of their villages is an Ethiopian elected by the local government; the spiritual authority is in the hands of the priests and the elders. One can only guess at the number of Falashas now living in Ethiopia. I do not think, however, that it exceeds 15,000 to 20,000.

What are the relations between Ethiopians and Falashas today? In the regions in which there are no Falashas the Ethiopians are not aware of their existence. Where the Falashas live there is little social contact and they are considered a people apart. It is the self-imposed social and religious isolation of the Falashas which dictates the feelings of the Ethiopians toward them. In fact I have heard some Ethiopians call the Falashas the *attënkuñ*, meaning "do not touch me."⁵⁷

As for the contacts between the Falashas and the western Jews, we have seen that Jewish sources, with the exception of some more or less legendary lore, have nothing to report. There was apparently no contact in the Middle Ages. From a seventeenth-century Portuguese source we learn of the existence of a Jew from Vienna called Solomon who had gone to Ethiopia with the Bible and rabbinical books and even had a discussion with the Portuguese on matters of religion;⁵⁸ but it was not until the nineteenth century that

western Jews sought out the Falashas. Recently a few European travelers have visited them for one reason or another. The Falashas remember vividly the names of all their visitors; but this cannot make up for the lack of any relationship with Jewry itself.

Their only avenue of contact with the external world is through the city of Gondar, if they live near it. Many Falashas living as far as three or four days' distance away have probably never had occasion to visit the city. But even in Gondar there is no news of Jewish life in other countries. No Jewish newspaper ever reaches there, and if it did only a few learned Falashas would be able to read it. The fact that there is no religious persecution at present in Ethiopia, taken in conjunction with this complete isolation in which the Falashas live, will help us to understand why they have no interest in a Jewish national state. It is true that they feel themselves a part of the Jewish religious community, and that in their prayers the memory of Jerusalem lives on, but this memory has a religious character, not a national one.

The only time, as far as we know, that the Falashas attempted to migrate to Jerusalem was during the reign of the Emperor Theodore. At that time a religious dispute arose between the Falashas and some Protestant missionaries,⁵⁹ or perhaps between the Falashas and their converted brethren. The Falashas, fearing that they would be obliged to become converts as a result of it, left their communities and began the trek to Jerusalem, led to this unfortunate step by the similarity of the names of the Messiah Theodore⁶⁰ and Emperor Theodore. Since they expected miracles such as the ancient Hebrews experienced when they crossed the Red Sea and journeyed in the wilderness, they left unprepared for long travel. They got as far as the country of Tigre, where most of them perished; those who survived had to return to their deserted villages.

We come now to the final problems, namely, the general character of the faith of the Falashas, and their origin. One thing seems certain: their form of Judaism is primitive and might date from a time when the Mishnah and the Talmud were not yet compiled,

since the Falashas rely upon the authority of the Old Testament and the Book of Jubilees and are unaware of the very name of the Talmud.

Many attempts have been made to link the Falashas with one Jewish sect or another. It is true that we find traces of similar religious customs among other sects, like the Karaites, the Samaritans, etc., but no certain conclusion can be drawn on the basis of these analogies. First of all, the isolation from the Jewish world on one hand and the more or less close contact with the Ethiopian population on the other led to the abandonment of many traditional customs and the introduction of religious elements of non-Jewish origin. Secondly, we must not forget that the observance of some Jewish religious customs requires a more or less high economic standard among the people and that consequently the lack of material resources in the Falasha communities might have led them to give up some of these practices. For example, there is little doubt that in former days the Falashas offered more than one sacrifice a year; but the repeated purchase of a sacrificial animal and the other preparations connected with the sacrifice require an amount of money which many Falasha communities cannot afford at present. Perhaps in former days the synagogue was more than an ordinary hut with a single room, but today very few Falasha communities can afford to build a synagogue of two or three rooms. We can see in our days how religious customs are changing or being abolished. I often heard reference made to religious practices that had been in vogue during the youth of my informants but that were no longer being observed. (This incidentally will partly explain some of the divergencies between my information and that of my predecessors.) These circumstances together with the fact that our knowledge of the religious and social life of the Falashas is of rather recent date should make us skeptical of all attempts to connect the Falashas with this or that ancient Jewish sect.

The question whether or not the Falashas are ethnically Jews or a segment of the indigenous population which has been converted to Judaism has often been discussed. The Falashas themselves

claim that they are Jews who came to Ethiopia with Menelik I, the alleged son of King Solomon and the "Queen of the South" or the Queen of Sheba; others say that when the Hebrews left Egypt at the time of the exodus a portion of them migrated south and reached Ethiopia; still others affirm that they have descended from Jews who came after the destruction of the First or the Second Temple. Very few of the western scholars who have dealt with the problem of the Falashas are of the opinion that they are ethnically Jews. Most of them think that they are a segment of the indigenous Agau population which was converted to Judaism. How and when they were converted is a problem for which historical evidence is lacking. It has been argued that the Jews of Egypt⁶¹—we know of the existence of a Jewish community in Elephantine in the fifth century B.C.—or the Jews of Yemen may have sent forth missionaries who converted these African tribes to Judaism.⁶² There seems to be more historical evidence for contact between Yemen and Ethiopia than between Egypt and Ethiopia, and I would therefore be inclined to think, with some others, that the conversion came from the Jews of Yemen. It must be conceded, however, that nearly all the proofs in favor of this view are indirect rather than direct. The problem still awaits final solution.



Fig. 1. Falasha Women



Fig. 2 Hut of the Woman in Childbed



Fig. 3 Synagogue



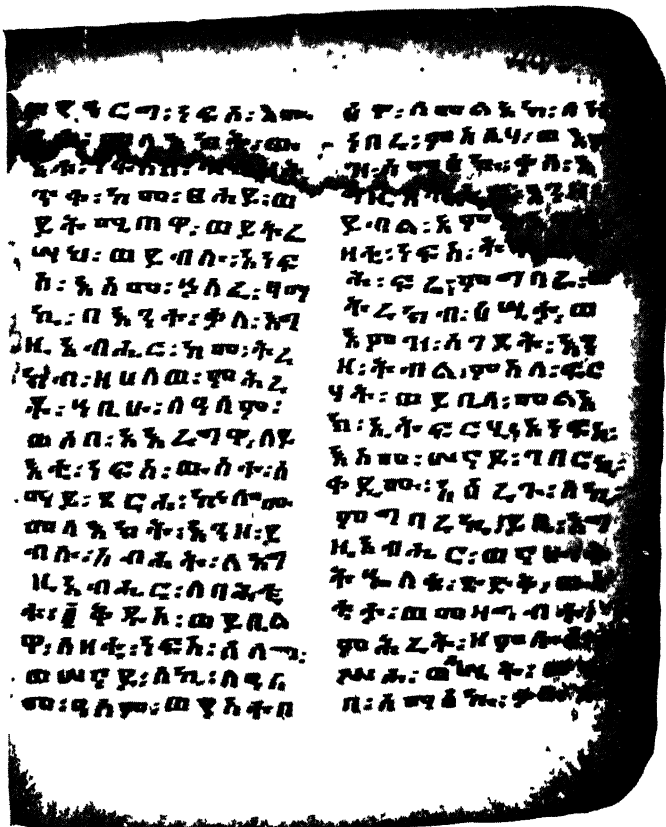
Fig. 4. Falasha Priest



Fig. 5 Monks



Fig. 6. Sacrificial Knives



Folio from an Ethiopic Manuscript

(Apocalypse of Gorgorios, Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, d'Abbadie MS, 21, fol 40r)

ANTHOLOGY

TĒ'ĒZĀZA SANBAT

THE COMMANDMENTS OF THE SABBATH

Synopsis

A COLLECTION of Falasha writings in the Geez language was given to the learned world by Joseph Halévy, a scholar famous for his explorations of South Arabia. The Commandments of the Sabbath well deserves its first place in this collection, for it is one of the most attractive of Falasha literary productions.

To Jews everywhere and at all times the Sabbath has been particularly valued. But it was left for the Falashas to give it a metaphysical background by viewing the day as a female figure personifying the heavenly world. This is analogous to what Hellenistic Jewish and subsequent Gnostic speculation has done with such a concept as wisdom. But to personify the Sabbath day in similar manner was a new departure. However, the personification is not carried through consistently in this text but occurs only intermittently.

The document begins with a formula of praise of the God of Israel taken from Num. 16: 22. It then relates the story of the six days of creation. The creation of man is elaborated on in an interesting way. Dust has to be brought from the country of Dudālēm for the purpose. The archangels Gěrmā'ēl and 'Aksā'ēl, who are dispatched in turn to fetch it, are overawed by the earth's invoking God's glorious name in self-defense and return empty-handed. Běrnā'ēl, however, who has no regard for that invocation, brings the dust, but in doing so he rouses the Deity's ire and is thrown down to earth by Michael. At God's command he is changed into fire. He asks that those who transgress God's commandments be given into his power so that they may be punished along with him (11, 3-13, 12).

God now creates Adam. Between the account of fashioning

the inanimate body and that of infusing the breath of life into it there seems to be some misplaced material about God's ceasing work on the seventh day and creating Hell on the third day. The newly formed Adam is put in the "Garden of Pleasure" to guard it for forty-one days. He transgresses the commandments of the Creator (though no prohibition has been stated) and is claimed by Běrnā'ēl. By invoking the name of God he manages to have this fate put off. We then hear that man has transgressed night and day on the Sabbath. Once more Běrnā'ēl claims him and receives consent to man's being punished with him in Hell. The angels, however, advise Adam to go into God's presence and ask God to give him the holy Sabbath. He stays there for forty-one days (13, 13-14, 12).

Without further explanation of this issue we hear of the Lord's creating woman out of a rib; the story of the fall is related essentially as in Gen. 2-3. Here, however, the garden is called 'Ēlyās and man after being driven out of it dwells east of Edom (14, 13-15, 2).

At this point the author introduces an interlude in which the archangels praise God and ask Him for food. The earth implores Him for rain, God finally sends it, and all the birds and animals praise the Creator (15, 3-28).

The story of humanity continues. This is a separate piece, however, for the name of the garden is 'Ēldā and man's expulsion from it is referred to only incidentally in connection with the statement that Enoch has been placed in the garden and will stay there till the Savior comes (15, 29-16, 3).

A new beginning is apparently made (in 16, 3) with the statement, "This is the Book of Israel, concerning the greatness and the glory of the Sabbath of Israel." The section that follows here (16, 3-19, 25) speaks first of the institution of the rest day and gives a divine oracle concerning it, composed of exhortations and predictions as to the fate after death of those who disregard the Sabbath (16, 4-21). Here (16, 22) the personification of the Sabbath begins. She rises from her seat in Heaven on Friday at dawn; the spirit of God descends, the angels crown her (duplicate statements suggest that several versions have been combined here)

and bring her down from on high. Sabbath looks upon the souls of the just in the garden, causing them to rejoice, and even the sinners in Sheol love her, repentant over the evil they did on the Sabbath and hopeful that they may be brought up out of the place of torture (16, 23-33). After some general statements about those who do the right thing on the Sabbath (16, 34-17, 8) and further admonitions and assurances to them (17, 9-16), the theme of deliverance from Sheol is continued. God commands Michael to go down to Sheol to bring out those in the nether world and give them a reprieve from the ninth hour of Friday until Sunday morning. But the hardened sinners apparently have to stay in Sheol, though they appeal to Michael for deliverance. Michael, following divine instructions, brings the souls of the just into the garden on the ninth hour of Friday. Here they are graciously received. Sabbath presents to God those "who believe in me and Thee" but apparently have no good works to rely on, and asks mercy for them; they receive the divine pity and are sent away without humiliation (17, 17-18, 21). There is some further discussion of the kind of men who enter Paradise and who enjoy divine favor on the Day of Judgment, as well as of those who came out of Sheol or were brought up by Michael. Their punishment is considered preferable to Sheol. Observance of the Sabbath is enjoined and the angels of Heaven sing a song in praise of the divine victor (18, 22-19, 26).

The next section begins, "These are the commandments of the Sabbath, etc." (19, 27). After a restatement of the Sabbath rules there is a whole series of laws involving the death penalty (19, 35-20, 8; 20, 26-35), interrupted however by a section describing the blessedness of the Sabbath day (20, 9-25). Then the personified Sabbath states that she was present at creation and asks not to be sent to the unjust (21, 4-17). A declaration of God to Moses, again containing a list of transgressions with the death penalty, is given, and in conclusion there are some general observations contrasting the just and the unjust (21, 18-22, 6).

The creation of an angel—the eagle Tāni—is next mentioned. He is sent to explore Gehenna. When he returns emaciated after

a twenty-year absence he admits not having reached the end of it, but he gives God a description of the punishments of Hell (22, 7-23, 19).

Then follows a predictive piece. On the day when God reprimands the children of Adam, Sabbath will stand at the entrance of Hell and appeal for special consideration for those who kept the Sabbath (whatever else they may have done); she will be given a favorable answer (23, 20-24, 12). Some mixed material, largely in praise of keeping the Sabbath, terminates this section (24, 13-34).

A new section is introduced by praise to God in which angels and earth and stars participate (24, 35-25, 17). God's mercy to men is exemplified by biblical personages from Adam to Elisha. This is developed in detail. Once more we hear of Adam's creation, of his being put in the Garden of Pleasure, and of his expulsion from it (25, 22-26, 7). Noah receives passing mention (26, 8). This is followed by a reference to God's mercy to Abraham. The story of the birth and youth of Abraham is related with special emphasis on his breaking his father's idols. Terah sends him to Nimrod, king of Canaan, who attempts to make him worship idols and when unsuccessful throws Abraham into the flames of an oven. God, however, sends Gabriel down to deliver the patriarch. The story of the sacrifice of Isaac is related next. We learn in connection with it that the horn of the ram that was substituted for Isaac will be blown by Elijah on Mount Zion and its blast will be heard to the ends of the earth on the Last Day (26, 12-28, 24).

The significance of Adam's fall is considered, but Moses' work, carried further by good priests, kings, and prophets, is viewed as putting us back in the garden of delight (28, 25-29, 9).

The biblical story of the golden calf is told, and especially how the calf was ground to powder and the Israelites made to drink it (Exod. 32: 20); 20,700 who had given gold for making the calf died. Apparently, however, some 102,090 of the survivors separated themselves from the rest and arrived at the plain of 'Iyārēwos, where they are imagined to abide still, alienated from God. It

is not clear to whom the statement "Those who died were saints, and they shall be men of renown on the Last Day" refers (29, 10-30, 14).

The personified Sabbath reappears (30, 15-32, 18). Attended by angels she worships the Creator on Friday morning. God converses with her and tells her that those who honor her honor Him. Sabbath praises the Lord and then leaves the camp of God attended by angels. They bring her to earth and report the deeds of men on the Sabbath day to God, who then rewards or punishes. God bids all people praise Him. Here follow some reflections and laws about the Sabbath day and the Sabbath year (31, 19-34). The theme of Sabbath's descent to earth on Friday at the ninth hour is resumed (31, 35). She bids Michael, Gabriel, Rumā'ēl, and Uriel bring her those who are her own. This leads to a struggle with the hosts of Bērñā'ēl who are driven back to Sheol. Michael then ascends to Sabbath and reports on the struggle (32, 6-16). Sabbath appeals to God to give her those who love her. God agrees. She promises to intercede for those who fear her on the Last Day, but those who disregard her will be seized by the hosts of Bērñā'ēl (32, 17-28).

There follow statements about God's giving the Sabbath to Moses. However, Sabbath was with God from eternity, though not yet visible at the time when God's spirit moved on the face of the waters (32, 29-32). In the material that follows the personified Sabbath is not mentioned again. There is an account of the days of creation and of how God celebrated the Sabbath in Heaven on the seventh day and ordered the two kinds of angels to keep it, predicting, too, that he would take for his own a people from among all peoples that would keep the Sabbath (32, 33-34, 7).

A transition to the history of Adam to Moses is then made (34, 8-15), but that history is not elaborated on. An apocalyptic passage is introduced referring to the Ethiopian king, Gabra Masqal, and his successors and the eclipse of that line (34, 16-24).

Rather abruptly a commandment about bringing offerings on the fifth (?) day is introduced (34, 25). Then follows narrative material. The angels, seeing that the Sabbath (?) was not sanc-

tified on the fifth day, came before God apparently seeking to have the Sabbath for themselves. However, God rejected that request. He had not given the Sabbath even to his servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob! After the angels have praised God in all three Heavens he gives them their food, the manna. They eat and continue their praise of the Creator, standing at their places, while the doors of the house of God are open on New Moon and Sabbath (34, 25-36, 4). The earthly scene is then envisaged in more detail. The purpose of God's creation of the Sabbath is pointed out, and a regulation about the seventh Sabbath after the Passover and the fiftieth day (Pentecost) is added. The angels are called upon to praise the man who observed the Sabbath (36, 5-20).

The personified Sabbath now descends to earth at Jerusalem and is received by Abel, Enoch, and Melchizedek and crowned by angels. There are explanations of the benefits gained by honoring her, and admonitions and promises from God who announces the glory of His name. A saying of God to Moses on the third Sabbath of the fifth month is reported (36, 21-37, 34).

An apocalyptic piece is then introduced. When God questions men at the final assize Sabbath intercedes for those who were loyal to her. The text then passes into warnings and exhortations (37, 35-38, 14).

Once more the theme of the creation of man is introduced. Man and woman were created in the first week, but woman was not shown to man until the second. They came into Eden on the fortieth and eightieth days respectively. These "facts" supposedly explain certain laws of purification (38, 15-34). Incidents of patriarchal history are related which took place in the fourth and seventh months and thus apparently have particular dignity. The text ends with God's declaration of his love for Abraham and his seed and a suitable benediction (38, 35-39).

Sources

1. The sources are mostly Jewish, both biblical and extrabiblical. The most interesting and original part of the book is

the concept of the Sabbath and the legends concerning her.¹

The Sabbath is a holy entity. Various names are given her: Luminous, Vivifying, Rejoicing, Beloved, and Guardian² She is also called the "Sabbath of Israel," and the "Sabbath of God."³ She intercedes with God insistently, for both the righteous and the sinners⁴ That the sinners rest in Hell on the Sabbath and are not punished on that day is well known in Jewish, Christian, and Moslem writings,⁵ and is often mentioned in the Commandments of the Sabbath. What characterizes our book is its originality and the picturesque description of how the Sabbath, crowned on that day by the angels, goes down to Sheol and delivers the sinners from their punishment.⁶

2. A Jewish source other than biblical and rabbinical for this material is the Book of Jubilees. In fact, various passages such as those dealing with the creation of the world, the ordinances concerning the defilement of the woman, the commandments of the Sabbath, and others are taken from the Book of the Jubilees. Several passages, especially those concerning the angels, are drawn from the Ethiopic Enoch.

3. Occasionally one can find a Christian element, such as the mention of the Savior in connection with Enoch ("And Enoch will be there until the Savior comes"),⁷ and perhaps also that of the Sabbath rest of the sinners until Sunday morning, and of the offerings presented to Sabbath on Sunday.⁸ But on the whole Christian elements are insignificant, and it can safely be concluded that the Commandments of the Sabbath is strongly influenced by Jewish writings.⁹

4. Some legends amplifying various accounts of the Bible, such as the creation of Adam, the story of Abraham and his relation to Nimrod, and others, are of Arabic rather than Jewish origin. They may have been taken over either orally or from translations, but in any case are found here in a very corrupt form. For example, in the story of the creation of Adam angels are sent to take dust from the earth. The names of the angels are not the same as in the Arabic sources, but the whole account corresponds exactly to what we know from Arabic texts.

Arabic origin can also be traced in the story of Nimrod who, in his desire to kill the God of Abraham, builds a high tower to reach the abode of God and then, seated in a palanquin carried by eagles, shot an arrow at someone he thought to be the God of Abraham. This account is Arabic and is related in our text in a very abridged and corrupt form.¹⁰

Date of Composition

The date of this work can be determined only in a general way. The presence of influence from Christian-Arabic quarters suggests that it is not older than the fourteenth century. It is quite possible, of course, that the work contains materials which reach much further back. The extreme limit for any part of it would be the period of biblical translation from the fifth through the seventh centuries. It will be one of the tasks of future research to determine whether Jewish agadic materials or Christian sources furnish any clues that would make possible a more precise dating.

Texts and Bibliography

The first part of the text up to page 25 is a translation of the MS d'Abbadie, 107, fol. 105r^o ff.,¹¹ which yields a better text than the one edited by Halévy.¹² Passages in which a better reading was given by Halévy's text are pointed out in the footnotes. The second part of the text had to be translated from the Ethiopic text published by Halévy, which unfortunately is corrupt in several passages. Only important corrections were suggested in the footnotes. The numerous grammatical mistakes are not cited.

The d'Abbadie MS, 107 is designated in the footnotes by A; the one published by Halévy is marked H.

Joseph Halévy, *T'ē'ezāza Sanbat*, French synopsis, pp. iii-xiii; Ethiopic text, pp. 1-40; French translation, pp. 133-164.

A. Z. Aescoli, *Hafalašim*, Hebrew synopsis, pp. 92-97. For the various manuscripts, see nn. 11, 12.

Translation

Praised be God, the Lord of Israel, the Lord of all spirit and of all flesh.

And it was night, and it was day. And it was six days, and He finished His work. The first ¹³ day He created the light. The second day He created Heaven ¹⁴ and water showing His wisdom.¹⁵ The third day He created the earth, the sea, and everything that grows, each after its kind and aspect. The fourth day He created the sun, the moon, and the constellations of stars. The fifth day He created the angels of Heaven,¹⁶ the big sea monsters,¹⁷ and the fowl after their kind. The sixth day He created the animals fit for (food for) human kind until the earth was full of them,¹⁸ and then, on the same day, He created Adam, at midday.¹⁹ On that day God Himself thought to create Adam,²⁰ and He sent His angel called Gërmā'ël ²¹ down to earth. The angel of God came to the earth, reached the country of Dudālēm,²² and was about to take dust from the earth. The country of Dudālēm was cleft asunder and took refuge in the name of the mighty Lord.²³ The angel, fearing the Holy Name, left (that country) and returned to his sender and stood trembling before God. God said to him: "Why didst thou not bring me [the dust of the earth]?" The angel of God said to his sender: "The earth invoked Thy name and took refuge in Thy glorious name.²⁴ I feared Thy name, the glorious, great, and strong."²⁵ The angel stood trembling from head to foot, his soul trembled, and he was unable to speak to Him who had sent him. God said to him: "Fear not."²⁶ And his mind was restored, for he glorified the name of God. And the angel, who feared the name of God, became strong.

God then thought: "I shall desist from creating [Adam]." Then [He sent] another angel named 'Aksā'ël.²⁷ The angel rose up, reached the (land) of Dudālēm, and took from the dust [of the earth. The earth said]: "I take refuge in His Holy Name." This angel, too, feared the name of God and left the earth. The soul of the one who belonged to the army of God trembled. God said

to the angel. "Why didst thou not bring me [the dust of the earth]?" The angel answered, though he was hardly able to do it, and said: "Because Thy name is terrible forever." God said to him: "Who revealed my name to thee, and who is he?" "None revealed to me²⁸ Thy name, but the earth invoked it, and my soul trembled." God said: "He who fears my name is blessed. Likewise they who honor me will not enter into Hell."

The archangel of God named Běrnā'ēl²⁹ answered and said: "O God, the great Lord forever," and became angry and said to the two archangels whom God had sent: "You have disobeyed the commandment of God." God was angry at Běrnā'ēl because of that. [And Běrnā'ēl said to God]: "Send me and I shall go."³⁰ God (decided) to send him. Běrnā'ēl, of the army of God, stood up. God said. "Hurry, and bring me the dust." Běrnā'ēl came, rejoicing in his heart because of God, ran from the end³¹ of the camp, and arrived in the land of Dudālēm. When he arrived the earth trembled, was fearful and agitated. It knew while (the angel) stood there [that he would take the dust], whereas previously the two angels did not rise up and take it. The angel Běrnā'ēl took the dust, and the earth became a big abyss. It shouted aloud from its interior to its foundations and took refuge in the mighty name of God. Běrnā'ēl said. "I shall not answer anything." The earth shouted aloud to the One who had sent (the angel),³² wept, and trembled for seven years.

Běrnā'ēl, the very proud, took clay of the earth,³³ carried it and brought it before God. God looked upon the earth and contemplated while it trembled.³⁴ God said "Behold, the earth trembled seven years until the beginning of the jubilee. It will tremble thus beginning from today until the end of the years." God looked upon Běrnā'ēl with anger and said: "Become fire." He then said to the angel named Michael: "Take him by his foot, throw him down upon the earth, and slap him upon his cheek." Michael said to God: "Give me the strength to overpower him." God agreed and gave His favor and strength to Michael. Michael seized Běrnā'ēl's foot and threw him down upon the earth. Běrnā'ēl's grace became deficient,³⁵ and his whole body became a furnace

of fire ³⁶ because he aroused ³⁷ suspicion by the very words of his mouth. God crushed this insolent one and said to him: "Verily, thou shalt become fire." ³⁸

[Běrnā'ěl] said: "Give me those who sinned, transgressing Thy laws and commandments. Let the souls of those who disobeyed Thy commandments become like mine, and may they be punished with me." God said: "It is because of my Holy Name that I created man and made him with my holy fingers.³⁹ They who fear my name will live; they who fear not my name will descend into Hell; they who turn from their sins and repent will live; ⁴⁰ they who revolt against my commandments will go with thee [into Hell]."

God, the Lord of justice,⁴¹ created Adam after his likeness, with the fire, water, wind, and stones.⁴² God saw his body, and his soul had not entered yet upon him.⁴³ God said: "What bad things will come from him?" God ceased to work the seventh day. The third day He created Hell ⁴⁴ with all its hosts.⁴⁵ The creation of Hell and its fire took place because of the deeds of man. In fact, God created Hell because man was bad from his youth until his end.

Then God breathed into man the breath of life, and he became alive and stood before God, the Lord. God said to Adam. "Go and return." And he went and returned. And God rejoiced ⁴⁶ that Adam walked in the Garden ⁴⁷ of Pleasure ⁴⁸ in order to guard it for forty-one days.⁴⁹ And God said "May he eat and be satiated by the fruit of the trees that perish not and remain forever, on which (man) works not nor waters, and finds fresh fruit every year . . . its fruit will not cease; its leaves perish not, its splendor [disappears not], and its roots dry not out.⁵⁰ Like the fruit which ceases not are the ways of man." But Adam transgressed the commandments of his Creator, and Běrnā'ěl said to his Lord: "Give him to me."⁵¹ Adam heard his request and invoked the name of God, saying: "Father, Father, Holy, Holy, Holy, [Lord of] Sabaoth is Thy name. Thy kingdom is not dissolved, Thy word will not be denied for the duration of the years." God said to him: "Night and day shall thy mouth not

be silenced [from praise of God], morning and evening may it not cease until its measure be full at a time when the worm sleeps not." ⁵²

God saw that man transgressed night and day on the Sabbath . . . ⁵³ and Běrnā'ēl said: "O Lord, I beg Thee, give me the one who sinned, transgressing Thy law and commandments, and despised Thy word." God said to him: "I give permission that he who despised my name and swore by my name be punished with thee in Hell." The angels said to Adam: "Go and stand before God." Adam stood before God [?] and said: "O Lord, give me the holy Sabbath." He arrived in the tent of God and stood before God for forty-one days. ⁵⁴

[And the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and He took one of his ribs] ⁵⁵ and closed up the flesh thereof instead. ⁵⁶ And from the rib which the Lord had taken from man He made a woman and brought her unto man and placed her at his bedside. Adam woke up from his sleep, looked about, seized his wife, and said: "This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh; she will be my wife that God granted me to abide with me."

The serpent rose on the sixteenth day of ⁵⁷ the second month and came to the woman and said to her: ⁵⁸ "What did He allow you and what did He forbid you?" The woman said to the serpent: "We may eat [of all the fruit of the trees of the garden], but of the fruit of the tree [which is in the midst of the garden] God has said: 'You shall not eat of it, lest you die.'" The serpent said: ["You shall not surely die,] for God knows that on the day you eat thereof your eyes shall be opened, and you shall know good and evil." The woman saw the tree, took of the fruit thereof and did eat, and gave also to her husband. And they ate, and the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked. And they heard God coming, and Adam and his wife hid themselves among [the trees of] the garden. And God said to Adam: "Where art thou?" And Adam said: "[I was afraid] because I was naked, and I hid myself." God became angry and sent them

forth from the Garden of 'Ēlyās,⁵⁹ and (Adam) stayed in front of Edom.⁶⁰

Ninety-nine archangels gathered together, praised and exalted God, and said: "Thy wholeness is marvelous, Thy kingdom is mighty, the marvelousness of Thy wisdom is venerable." They trembled because of the majesty of His voice (and said): "Thou art the Creator of Heaven and earth, Thou, Lord, the excellent, the just, and the living; with their mouth they exalt and praise the divinity of Thy name that is and will be."

They stood before God, trembling and weeping bitterly, and asked for their food. God said to the angels: "The clouds will bring your ⁶¹ food ⁶² in its season, and you will eat forever." The angels said to God: "What is Thy ⁶³ food, O Lord?" God said to the angels: "My ⁶⁴ food is the praise that all creatures bestow upon me, and I give the rain as food for all flesh."

The earth shouted and wept bitterly and said: "I am always dry, give me rain, O Lord my Creator."⁶⁵ God heard the cry of the earth and said to the clouds: "Go and bring rain." The clouds rose and went as God commanded them; they ran and took the waters of God to the place where He sent them. God drove a strong wind beneath the clouds to disperse them, and He said to the clouds: "Let the water go down." They did as God commanded them. The earth drank, was satiated, and blessed God: "O Father of praise, Lord of the world who gave me my food, the rain. I praise and glorify God to whom it is fitting to give praise and thanks." Then the green grass and the trees of the plain appeared; and all the birds of the sky and all the animals of the earth praised Him all together.

Adam made a . . . and he named his wife Eve. He stayed in (the Garden of) 'Ēldā⁶⁶ numerous days and begat sons and daughters. The sons numbered nine⁶⁷ and the daughters ninety. Adam died in justice⁶⁸ and Seth succeeded him. Seth died, and Enosh⁶⁹ succeeded him and then died. Kenan succeeded him and then died. Mahalalel succeeded him and died. Jared succeeded him and died. Enoch succeeded then and died not.⁷⁰ God placed

him in the Garden of 'Ēldā ⁷¹ whence He had driven Adam. And Enoch will be there until the Savior comes.⁷²

This is the Book of Israel, concerning the greatness and the glory of the Sabbath of Israel. God sanctified the Sabbath, glorified it, and blessed it through the Holy Spirit. The Lord exalted and glorified it as He did all of His creation the heavens and the earth. He finished His work in (six) days and rested on the seventh day and established it as the Sabbath.⁷³ Therefore God blessed the seventh day and kept it holy, as He said: "Sanctify God on this day, let us be glad and rejoice on this day. Serve God on the Sabbath. Why then should you work and busy yourselves when God exalted, glorified, and sanctified this day? After your death, what excuse will you use? On that day, He will send into Hell those of you who did not rest on the Sabbath.⁷⁴ He will cast you into the fiery furnace and will lead you where the worm sleeps not and the fire is never quenched.⁷⁵ There the fiery furnace will be poured out ⁷⁶ upon the sinners and the wicked, without pause, day and night; they will neither lie down nor ever sleep.⁷⁷ God brought you and gave you the Sabbath and the New Moon. They will measure out to you thirteen (times more) with the measure you used." ⁷⁸

God's justice [?] will rejoice in Heaven with the Sabbath of Israel. The Sabbath will rise from her seat on Friday at dawn; the spirit of God will descend through the seven heavens and will then rise. Then the archangels will crown the Sabbath of God, and the priests of Heaven will leap for joy. The spirit of God will come on Friday at the ninth hour. Ninety thousand angels will crown ⁷⁹ the Sabbath of God and will bring her down from on high. Because of her all will rejoice like calves, and all the angels of Heaven will be glad because of the greatness, the splendor, and the glory of the Sabbath of God.⁸⁰ The Sabbath will look upon the souls of the just in the garden, and they will rejoice on Friday.

He who observes His laws, commandments, and the statutes of the judgment that God has given them upon the earth [will inherit eternal] life. The spirit of God will come into the garden,

and the just will rejoice greatly because of the Sabbath of God. The souls of the sinners will love her in order that she may bring them out of Sheol. [They are afflicted] remembering the evil they did on the Sabbath of God. He who shows mercy, prays, and gives alms on the Sabbath and on the day of the New Moon ⁸¹ of the seventh Sabbath ⁸² will have his sins forgiven, ⁸³ as will he who seeks not revenge upon others and places not resentment in his heart.

Thou shalt not argue or dispute on my Sabbath. ⁸⁴ I am God. Pray to God, your Lord, you who have sins and faults, and you will be saved through the Sabbath. He who honors the Sabbath and the festivals, God will honor him in Heaven. ⁸⁵

Like a laden ship which none can move for the greatness of the goods therein but which when steered runs like a deer, even so will he be eased who has many sins, faults, and misdeeds but who showed mercy and prayed on the Sabbath of God.

God said to the archangel Michael: "Go down to Sheol for the sake of the Sabbath rest." When the Sabbath rises from the right hand of God, Friday at dawn, the angels rise immediately with the Sabbath and crown her. While they praise, glorify, and honor her, they fear and tremble greatly. They descend from the heavens on Friday at the ninth hour of the evening. The spirit of God says to Michael: "Go down into Sheol for the sake of the rest of the Sabbath, my appointed one, ⁸⁶ in order to bring out those who are in Sheol." ⁸⁷ Michael thereupon descends into Sheol with the angels on Friday at the ninth hour until the following Sabbath morning. Ninety thousand archangels and thousands and myriads of their hosts are with him. They descend into Sheol to bring out those who are in it, beginning on Friday at the ninth hour. The angels give rest to the souls of men until Sunday morning. ⁸⁸ When they leave Sheol remains desolate, like an abandoned wife; even so is Hell empty.

They who observe not the Sabbath, the festivals, and the New Moon, ⁸⁹ and the (other) sinners, are eaten by worms ⁹⁰ and remain in Sheol. They shout, saying: "Abandon us not, O Michael; we remain alone." When Michael hears the lamentations and the

words of the sinners,⁹¹ he says to them: "Where are you?" They answer Michael: "Hell has strangled our throats so that we may not speak with thee." [Another] soul says to Michael: "Hell has sealed our throats."⁹²

God said to Michael: "Go and bring the souls of the just into the garden, at the ninth hour on Friday!" Michael went as God commanded him. He gathered the souls of the just and brought them before God. God said: "Be blessed," and the Lord of Heaven and earth blessed them, gave them favor and grace, dressed them in garments of life,⁹³ and brought them into the Heavenly Kingdom. And as for those of the just who had committed no sins when their souls left the body, God gathers them each according to His justice; He appears to them in His glory while their faces shine seven times brighter than the sun. Those who turned to God and repented of their sins have the appearance of the stars,⁹⁴ of Orion, and of the lightning.

The Sabbath of Israel said to God, the Lord of Heaven and earth: "I brought Thee those who believe in me and Thee, show mercy to them for my sake." God answered the Sabbath: "I pity them for thy sake," and He sent them away without shame or humiliation.⁹⁵

There is no seat for anyone in Paradise save by (the will of) God, by His Holy Spirit. It is destined for those who kept their body in purity,⁹⁶ for the virgin who knew not a man, and for the man who knew not a woman from his youth until the end of his days and who married not.⁹⁷

The priests of Heaven bring incense before His holy throne at all times, without pause, and God says: "Enter with them openly into the Heavenly Kingdom, you, men just and pure in body (who keep) from committing sins, and watch over your souls. Come, you who are in no respect willful or perverse."

When God comes on the last day in the midst of earthquakes and thunderbolts,⁹⁸ seated upon His twelve thrones⁹⁹ to judge, He will be faithful to those who love Him. As He said in the Book of the Law: "All those who keep my Sabbath and profane it not are my chosen sacrifice and offerings."

Sabbath means: I am God. "It is not the day, but I (who say it)," says God.¹⁰⁰

The men who came out of Sheol, with their necks tied in chains of fire, and the souls that Michael brought out, flee and run and rest neither day nor night. The souls of the sinners that Michael brought out of Sheol on Friday reach the limits of Heaven and earth, and it seems to them that they will never more return. Michael brings them out of the fiery furnace that is never quenched, and they run from east to west, to the south and to the north. And Michael says to the souls of the sinners: "Come, beginning Friday," and they move on Friday by God's order.

This punishment is preferable to Sheol, and it is better to keep the Sabbath and the day of the New Moon than to go down into Sheol.¹⁰¹ If we observe the rest on the Sabbath of God, without praying to and worshiping the celestial King, day and night, at every hour, who will tell the punishment of Hell in this world?

The angels of Heaven say: "Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord of Sabaoth

The whole earth ¹⁰² is full of Thy praise

The hosts of the angels praise Him and say:

The human kind, the earthy one, is vanquished ¹⁰³

He who dies not, forever is victor.

Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah!

He is holy, praised, and glorified forever."

These are the commandments of the Sabbath that I wrote for thee, and all the laws and prescriptions of the Sabbath.¹⁰⁴

Six days shalt thou labor, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, your God. In it you shall do no work, neither you, nor your women, nor your sons, nor your daughters, nor your menservants, nor your maidservants, nor your cattle, nor your family, nor the strangers that are with you.¹⁰⁵ He who labors in it shall die.¹⁰⁶

He who profanes this day [shall die].¹⁰⁷

He who lies with his wife on the Sabbath shall die.¹⁰⁸

He who argues or speaks aloud ¹⁰⁹ or seeks ¹¹⁰ a quarrel, he who buys or sells on that day, shall die.

He who draws water from a streaming spring ¹¹¹ or who argues or curses or blasphememes on that day shall die.

He who prepares not on Friday what he will eat, drink, or give [on the Sabbath], ¹¹² who lies . . . shall die.

He who carries anything, who takes something from his tent or brings something into it, shall die. ¹¹³

You shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath but (use) that which you prepared [on Friday]. Sabbath is the day on which to eat, to drink, to be satiated, to be filled with drink, ¹¹⁴ to rest . . . ¹¹⁵ to study, ¹¹⁶ to lie down, to be quiet, to celebrate, and to worship without doing any work.

God, your Lord, blessed [that day] that He gave you as a festival, a day of government [?], a holy day, and a blessed day. [He gave it] to all Israel, for all your days. For great is the deed of God who gave to Israel (that day on which) to eat, to drink, to be satiated, and to be filled with drink This day is a festival, to rest from all human labor save the bringing of sacrifices, incense, offerings, and gifts before God on the Sabbaths, ¹¹⁷ the festivals, and the day of the New Moon. You shall do this on the Sabbath in the sanctuary of God, your Lord, in order that He may forgive Israel. The offerings (shall be brought) at your festivals, as He commanded you, one day after another, as a memorial offered before God, who will accept them . . .

He who works on my Sabbath, travels or goes on a journey, ¹¹⁸ does any work in his field ¹¹⁹ or in his house, kindles the fire, ¹²⁰ sits in the sun ¹²¹ [shall die].

He who shows hatred or curses or swears or strives shall die.

He who rides on any beast ¹²² or travels on a boat, he who strikes or kills ¹²³ or fornicates, shall die.

He who slaughters ¹²⁴ a beast or kills a bird or catches animals on my Sabbath shall die. ¹²⁵

He who fasts on the Sabbath shall die. ¹²⁶

He who does any manner of work on my Sabbath shall die. Thus shall the children of Israel be holy and celebrate the Sabbath

according to the commandments as they are written on the two tables which God gave to me that I might write down the law for thee from now on and throughout all the generations.¹²⁷

Sabbath said to God: "Hearken to me, O Lord, (and let me say) but one word. I was with Thee when Thou didst create the Heaven¹²⁸ and didst establish the earth upon the rocks with Thy wisdom. Every creature in Heaven, in the sea, on the dry land, and in the rivers was created by Thy wisdom. O Lord, give me Thy consent and send me not to the unjust,¹²⁹ the slanderers,¹³⁰ the quarrelsome, and the treacherous. Drive me not away toward those who strike me with their spittle,¹³¹ who sit in the sun,¹³² who wash not with water,¹³³ who lie with women, who purify not their manners, who cover not their . . . , who throw away their spittle, quench not their fire, and accept not my commandments. As to their women, they knead their dough, they cook,¹³⁴ draw water, crush in the mortar, shout, neglect my commandments, and rebuke their neighbors."¹³⁵

God said to Moses:¹³⁶ "He who worships a graven or molten image that is impure shall die.¹³⁷ He who lies with his neighbor's wife shall die. He who uncovers his father's nakedness shall die.¹³⁸ He who despises his father and his mother shall die. He who lies with his sister shall die. He who divines or asks divination by charms shall die. He who profanes the Sabbath shall die. He who worships a human being shall die. He who speaks evil¹³⁹ against God shall die. He who gives his children into the service of princes that may kill them shall die. He who listens [not]¹⁴⁰ to the words of the covenant shall die. He who steals, lies, or bears false witness against his neighbor shall die. He who removes his neighbor's landmarks or (steals) his riches, who makes the blind wander out of the way, who perverts the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and the widow, who oppresses and takes by force, who deceives and slanders his neighbor, who speaks peace with his neighbor deceitfully and hates him in his heart, who . . . the arrogant ones, who bears false witness or gives false information."

By all these deeds man shall perish. By deeds of justice, alms,

and prayers man shall live. By boasting, injustice, and bad deeds man shall perish. He who loves this world, in eight days . . . He who loves the last day, [despising] the ephemeral world, will inherit life that has neither limit nor count. Justice will be profitable for the soul of the just, the deeds of the sinner will work against his soul.

Because of the number [of the sinners] whom He brings into Hell, God has created an angel, a great eagle named Tāni.¹⁴¹ His residence is as (large as) a land, and he was appointed for the sinners. God said to the eagle: "Go and measure the limits of the residence,¹⁴² from all sides, for the sinners who enter the pit of Gehenna."¹⁴³ The great eagle said to the King of Heaven and earth, who created Heaven, the earth, the sea, and the dry land: "O terrible Lord, who releasest the souls of the angels! Hell with its hosts and precipices¹⁴⁴ is terrible. I shall follow him." God [threw] behind the eagle hailstones of fire and wheels of flashing fire, and they were frightened and became liquid. The eagle flew from God's dwelling and stayed away for twenty years. And having risen and fled from God's dwelling and from the sinners of Hell,¹⁴⁵ he returned to God from the pit of Hell. The souls of the sinners arrive at the place where they . . . and are tortured by their enemies from above who suspend them in Hell. They are grieved while their souls wither away from sickness and ordeals, and they say: "Destroy us not when we come into Hell, while still with flesh . . ." and he passes them. The souls of the just who observed the commandments, the law of life, say (to the eagle): "Ask God, 'When will we be rewarded before Thee, O Lord?'"

And the eagle returned to God, his Creator, who sent him. He was emaciated and became like the breath of the lean-fleshed turtledove. He came being small (in appearance), his wings hung down, his bones showed their bare points. And the angel, the eagle, said to God: "O Lord, Thou alone art great, holy, and praised, O terrible Lord!" God said to the eagle: "Didst thou travel unto the limits of Hell,¹⁴⁶ in its length and width?" The eagle said: "I reached it not in the twenty years (I was away)

until today." God said to the great eagle: "What happened to thee?" The eagle said to God, his Creator: "It is because I saw the calamities of Hell, its precipices, its legions of fire, the fiery rugged places, and the hawks of fire."¹⁴⁷ The eagle said again to God: "I saw the punishment of Hell, and all its legions. I arrived¹⁴⁸ at the place where the souls of the sinners are suspended on entering Hell. Vultures of fire and tigers of fire cast down the sinners from the borders of Hell into the pit of Hell like stones, and they rose not. Fiery tigers seized the hosts of sinners as crocodiles seize men in the midst of the waters. They die not, for they have souls in their bodies and hearts with which they devise good and evil. They tell their deeds,¹⁴⁹ and they see all the sins they have committed before Him. None of the sins are hidden.¹⁵⁰ Those who observed not the commandments of life are subjected to Hell because of their sins. As for (eternal) life, it has no end, no measure, and no limit for those who observe the commandments of life so that they may live. Those who observed not (the commandments) shall die in Sheol, and there is no limit to it."¹⁵¹

On the day when God reprimands the children of Adam the Sabbath will stand at the entrance of Hell in the valley of fire¹⁵² and will say: "By God! May the just not be separated from the sinners before I separate them for my sake.¹⁵³ I shall inform Thee of those who rest not and observe not my laws." God said to her: "Numerous are those who committed sins before me." The Sabbath said to God: "Remember not the sins of Thy servants after they observed Thy Sabbath. Thou hast given me for a witness to the peoples, and Thou hast said through the mouth of Thy servant Moses: 'My Sabbath you shall keep, for it is a sign between you and me throughout your generations.'¹⁵⁴ And Thou hast said: 'You shall keep my Sabbath, for it is holy and a rest unto you, and later it will be a witness.¹⁵⁵ Their other faults will not be reprimanded. Verily, I shall forget their sins because of thee,¹⁵⁶ my witness.' Thou shalt not count them among the infidels because of their faults, and Thou shalt not couple them with the unjust. I conjure Thee by Thy glory. Thou hast granted it to me,

and Thou wilt not deny it because of Thy justice. I, Thy Sabbath, rose on that day to deliver my menservants and maidservants from among the living [?] ¹⁵⁷ and the wicked, for I am merciful. How can he be clean that is born of woman? Not even the sun and the moon are clean before Thee! ¹⁵⁸ O Lord, permit me to deliver my servants forever, without limit. Amen."

God said to the Sabbath: "I shall not confound thee and shall not refuse thee what thou hast asked of me. ¹⁵⁹ I grant thee everything that is thine. I say it truly in the name of my justice and of my Sabbath. And now may they have respite from Hell on that day, since the Sabbath is the witness for those who observe it." ¹⁶⁰ Sabbath said to God: "Grant me (it)."

O people, come all of you who observe my law and my rest! They will enjoy ¹⁶¹ a rest without limit and the happiness of the just. They will have respite from the mouth of Hell. ¹⁶² On that holy day, on the Sabbath, ¹⁶³ they will live in joy. They will not see ¹⁶⁴ strife, ¹⁶⁵ nor will the noise of strife be heard. They who, because of the Sabbath, gave to eat, will eat. Justice is good. Alms are good. The Sabbath is good. Silence on Sabbath is good. ¹⁶⁶ The doing of justice on the Sabbath is good. Nothing is like the Sabbath. Mercy and alms are greater than all. Justice is good. Humility before God ¹⁶⁷ and patience are good. Kindness is good. True judgment is good. Worshipping [is good]. Nothing can vie with the Sabbath and the observance of the commandments. There is no other commandment like it that can deliver the soul of man from the punishment of Hell. The Sabbath is good. Above all, God loves those who observe the Sabbath. The Sabbath is good. Above all, God hates those who observe not the Sabbath. The Sabbath is better than all the commandments. ¹⁶⁸ The Sabbath is good. The man who is against me, O God, is he who observes not the commandments of the Sabbath and its precepts and who believes not.

This is the commandment of the Sabbath. They who observe it shall live. They who do not observe it shall be punished forever.

Praise be to God in the council of His glory. He alone is holy and just and there is none like Him. The angels of Heaven,

Michael, Gabriel, and Fānu'ēl¹⁶⁹ and their hosts praise Him and call Him. 'Ēl, Wā'ēl, 'Ēlohē, Mal'ehē, Lahē, Lohē,¹⁷⁰ 'Adonāi Sabaoth. Holy, Holy, Holy is God of Sabaoth, the King. All the earth is filled with Thy glory,¹⁷¹ O Lord! And the stars of Heaven praise Him with intelligence.¹⁷²

Holy and praised is the Lord of Sabaoth. He is living. All the earth is filled with Thy glory, and there is none like Thee in the heavens above and on the earth below. All the earth is filled with Thy glory, and He is praised by the angels of Heaven, the angels of the abysses, the angels of the springs, the angels of the wind, the angels of the snow, the angels of hail, the angels of fire, the angels of hoarfrost, the angels of the storm, the angels of winter, the angels of summer, the angels who serve mankind, the angels who ride upon chariots and upon fire, the angels on high, the angels of the sea, and those who administer the fire,¹⁷³ and they say to Him: "He made and created Adam after His likeness, and made an everlasting covenant with Noah. He shows His mercy unto thousands, He the merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy, the just.¹⁷⁴ Our fathers Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha praised Him.

When God fashioned and made Adam, He took clay from the land of Dudālēm. He also took fire, wind, and water, crushed stones,¹⁷⁵ and made Adam.¹⁷⁶ He made bones in his members, tied them up with nerves, covered the body with skin, blew into him a holy breath, and Adam became a living being.¹⁷⁷ He walked with his feet, his knees were strengthened, and he spoke with his tongue.¹⁷⁸ God created the feet that man may walk, the hands that he may grasp, the eyes that he may see, the ears that he may hear, the tongue that he may speak, the nose that he may smell, and the heart that he may think, and an agreeable world in which to live.

God put [Adam] in the Garden of Pleasure to keep it and to eat of its fruits and to live in it forever without laboring or watering it or working.¹⁷⁹ There were (trees in it) the fruit of which fell not, whose leaves faded not, whose roots dried not, nor ceased to

yield fruit. But Adam lost the way of life and transgressed the commandments of his Creator. God sent him forth from the Garden of Pleasure and delight to till the earth and keep it, to eat the herb of the field by the sweat of his brow, the labor of his body, and the pain of his soul, for he transgressed the commandments of his Creator. And Adam and his seed lived in labor and in the pain of their bodies. Their affliction became greater.

Noah found grace in the sight of God, for ¹⁸⁰ he was just in his deeds and in his belief. God gave him the sign of peace and established an everlasting covenant with him that He will no more destroy the earth because of the deeds of mankind.¹⁸¹

Then Thou didst appear to Abraham, and Thou didst love him until the end of the world, him and you [?], to bless him and to multiply his seed as the stars of the Heaven and as the sands on the sea(shore). From among his seed Thou hast established a covenant with Isaac who purified his body from the spot of sin; and with Jacob, His beloved. As God brought forth Noah [from the ark] with His advice and wisdom at the time of the flood, so He brought forth Abraham from the country of the Chaldeans.

The wise of Canaan said (to Nimrod): "Behold, Terah will beget a son who will pervert and destroy the precepts of Canaan."¹⁸² And while they divined, Terah beget a son and called him Abraham. He put him into a cavern of his house for seven years,¹⁸³ and then he let him go out one night. Abraham saw the moon and the stars and said. "They shall be my masters, and I shall worship them." The second night he saw the moon and worshiped it. When the moon set and it became dark Abraham said. "Neither the moon nor the stars are gods." Terah again put him into the cave. His heart ¹⁸⁴ was boiling, and he went out the third day at noon. He saw the sun, worshiped it, and said: "The sun will be my God, its light is the brightest." But when the sun set it became dark and the sun disappeared. Abraham turned his face toward the east and said: "Be my God, Thou who hast created everything, and I shall not worship another, but Him who has created the sun and the moon."¹⁸⁵

Abraham saw all the idols which Terah had made. He took an ax and clove the carved idols and broke them to pieces and laid the ax on the neck of one of them.¹⁸⁶ When Terah saw the broken idols he shouted and said: "Who [did] all this?" They said to him: "We know not." Terah said: "I know who did this," and he called Abraham and said to him: "Why hast thou broken my idols?" Abraham said: "It was not I but this great god who broke them because of jealousy. Behold, the ax is on his neck. And thou worshippest him!" Terah said: "This one cannot break (anything)."¹⁸⁷ [Abraham said]: "Why then dost thou worship him? A man kills even his son or his father through submission to this idol and zeal for it." Terah said: "Verily, I know that my son will abolish the religion of Canaan." He sent him to Nimrod, the king of Canaan, and he said to him: "This is how my son acts, he hates my idols and has broken them." Nimrod said to him: "Is it true, what he has said? Come, let us worship this idol." Abraham refused [and said]: "My God is in Heaven. It is He who has created the sun, the moon, the heavens, and the earth. He who appoints thee king is in Heaven." Nimrod said: "I shall ascend into Heaven and kill him whom thou callest thy God." He took arrows and a bow,¹⁸⁸ rode upon the vultures, put a piece of meat upon their heads so that he would not miss the way—this was a remedy—and they ascended straight before them. When he reached the clouds an eagle saw the meat above his head. Nimrod pierced the eagle above his head [with an arrow]. He then collected the arrows, descended to Abraham and said to him: "Behold the blood of God, I killed Him."¹⁸⁹ Abraham said: "My God dies not. It is He who causes to die."¹⁹⁰ Nimrod said: "Will a rebellious son come from the seed of Terah?" They said: "We heard it."

Nimrod sent a thousand camels into the field to cleave trees, had a pit [?] dug on a hill [?], and the trees thrown upon it, and spread everything that the thousand [camels] carried and set it on fire. He said: "O Abraham, let us worship this idol, or perhaps thou dost not want to?" Abraham was obstinate and refused. Nimrod said to him: "I shall surely cast [thee] into the oven

and burn thee in the flames." Abraham heeded it not and would not change his mind and worship the idol. He threw him ¹⁹¹ into the flames.¹⁹² God said to [Gabriel]: ¹⁹³ "Go down and hit the flames of fire." And he became water ¹⁹⁴ that quenched the fire [?] of the oven. From that day until today it is called Kalādēwon.¹⁹⁵ (It recalls) what God had said to the children of Israel: "It is I who brought you forth ¹⁹⁶ from Egypt."

He named him Abraham.¹⁹⁷ Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob. The children of Israel, from among the Chaldeans, drank that flame which became water and dried not up, nor ceased from then until now.¹⁹⁸

God tempted Abraham concerning his son Isaac and said to him: "Kill thy son Isaac whom thou lovest and offer him to me." Abraham said to God: "I shall praise Him who restored ¹⁹⁹ to me what I had not, and I shall give Him [my son]."

Abraham and Isaac went to the place of which God had told him. Abraham took his son and bound him hand and foot to slay him. God said to Abraham: "Lay not thy hand [upon thy son], neither do anything unto him."²⁰⁰ God showed him a ram caught in a thicket, and Abraham sacrificed it in the place of Isaac.²⁰¹ The horn of the ram was big. Elijah will blow it on the Mount of Zion, and its blast will be heard unto the ends of the earth from the setting of the sun to its rising, and the sound of the horn ²⁰² will be heard on the Last Day.²⁰³

O Adam, first (of mankind), what hast thou done? Thou ²⁰⁴ hast guided us to death, Hell, and destruction and hast driven us away from life. Thou hast guided us to Hell, stumbling, and to precipices, for thou hast transgressed the commandments, precepts, and laws that God gave thee in order that thou shouldst not transgress. Thou hast disobeyed His orders not to eat and not to drink certain things and thus hast brought about Hell, the fire of which shall not be quenched and whose worm shall not sleep.

Because of one sin, Adam went out of the garden of joy, but the just Moses put us back into the garden of delight, the Garden of Edom.²⁰⁵ With him were the just prophets, the priests

Aaron, Elijah, Samuel, and the kings David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, saying: "Come back to God who created you the first and the second time, from your birth until your death. Abandon all others and save your souls because God, your Lord, is merciful, long-suffering, abundant in grace and just. He forgives sins and faults." And after them, the prophets Elijah, Elisha, Haggai, and the priest Zechariah [will come]. The clouds of God always overshadowed them as at the time when the children of Israel went out [of Egypt].²⁰⁶

When Aaron made the molten (calf),²⁰⁷ God said to Moses: "They who gave him²⁰⁸ gold and silver [to make the statue] shall be in one place, separated from those who gave not gold or silver, who believed in God, worshiped Him, and served Him in their hearts. They shall be separated in their lives."

The anger of Moses was kindled against Aaron, and Aaron said to Moses: "My master, the people said to me: 'Make us gods to whom we may prostrate ourselves and whom we may worship, since we know not²⁰⁹ what has become of Moses who brought us out of the land of Egypt.' I was afraid and said to them: 'Bring gold and silver and give it to me.' I gave it to the silversmith who made of it a molten idol. The people were glad, they ate, enjoyed themselves, and did foolish things." Moses took the molten idol which they had made, broke it, ground it to powder, and gave it to the children of Israel to drink.²¹⁰ Aaron said to Moses: "Not all of them gave me gold and silver, give drink only to those who gave to me." Moses said to him: "I shall make a sign from the mouths of those who [gave and those who gave] not," and he gave drink to all Israel.²¹¹ He placed himself between those who gave and those who gave not, and they swallowed the gold. Those who gave not [then destroyed?] those who gave gold and silver, and those who had not gold in their mouths were safe, and they became the portion of God. Those who gave gold were the adversaries of God, and they died in punishment to the number of twenty thousand and seven hundred.²¹² Those who gave [not] gold died not. [Later on] some of them were proud and haughty, believed not, and were disobedient to Moses. They separated them-

selves from the camp of Israel, each one from his family and from his brothers; each one with his companions separated himself from the twelve children of Jacob. They numbered one hundred two thousand and ninety and arrived at the plain of 'Iyārēwos²¹³ toward the Jordan and Jebus. They encamped there and still abide there until today and are alienated from God, the Lord.

And those who died were saints, and they shall be men of renown on the last day.²¹⁴ Many of them worshiped not [the golden calf], fornicated not, and desired not to give gold and silver. They went not awhoring away from God, the Lord. Ever since that day people became accustomed to do evil, to worship foreign gods, to offend me, and to abandon my law and my covenant. But God loves him who repents: the generous, the gentle, the humble, and the just.

When the Sabbath rose from her seat on Friday morning six hundred and forty thousand angels followed the Sabbath of God,²¹⁵ and the Sabbath worshiped the Creator.²¹⁶ About four thousand and three hundred praised the Sabbath; six hundred and eighty thousand were to her right, eight hundred and eighty thousand to her left. God conversed with the Sabbath. He gave the Sabbath [to Israel] to eat the fruits of the earth, to drink, to rest, to worship, to pray, and to show mercy. God said: "They to whom I gave thee²¹⁷ shall descend with thee. They who praise not, are not submissive, invoke not God on my Sabbath, and transgress my laws and commandments shall be coupled with the wicked."

And God said: "They who honor thee are as if they honored me, who dismiss thee are as if they dismissed me, who serve thee are as if they served me, who receive thee as if they received me, who make of the Sabbath a day of delight are considered as if they had made a loan to me."²¹⁸ Then I gave all the books of the law to Moses. I, God, wrote with my hands and my holy fingers the two tables of stone on Mount Sinai." They are written by the fingers of God.²¹⁹

The Sabbath said to God: "From Thee come the commandments and the law. [Thou art] the Lord of strength. The just praise Thy name. Thou, O Lord, art the grace of the gentle, Thy

name is very good, Thou art the greatness of the humble, Thou art the God of the just. Thy loving kindness, grandeur, and mercies are with Thee." God said: "May [the angels] descend with thee." The Sabbath said to God: "Hearken to me, [listen to] only one word." God said to his Sabbath: "Yes, I listen to thee. He who celebrates thee ²²⁰ and honors thee more than the other days, will not have his sins remembered.²²¹ He who gives alms on the Sabbath, who receives thee after being washed in water,²²² I permit thee to take him from me. To him who gives alms on the Sabbath of God, I shall give the forty-nine gifts I gave to thee."²²³

The Sabbath left the camp of God. God said to the angels, his servants: "Go, descend with her." He sent them,²²⁴ and the angels followed, numbering two hundred forty thousand and three hundred. They brought ²²⁵ her to earth. They reported the deeds of men to God on the day which was known to men as the Sabbath and they brought them before God.²²⁶ God rewarded them according to their deeds, their alms, and their praises. God let the angels know their parts.

God saw (all this) and said: "The (Sabbath) shall never be worn out, the fruit of the Sabbath shall not perish. Praise me, all people."

Nothing should be traded on the Sabbath.²²⁷ Let us celebrate the seventh year as the Sabbath. The debts of one to the other shall not be repaid in that year and it shall not be considered as sin.²²⁸

Do on Friday the work for your house, as well as for the bread which is to be offered to God.²²⁹ Salt shall not be omitted in the sacrifice of the Sabbath of God,²³⁰ nor shall the alms [be omitted]. The Sabbath of God is made for offerings of a sweet savor and alms should not be forgotten. Come not empty to God on the Sabbath and on the day of the New Moon; ²³¹ (bring) the tithe at the three festivals of the year (?).²³² The children of Levi shall bring tribute to God so that the sins of Israel shall be forgiven, as it is written in the Law of Moses.

The Sabbath descended from Heaven to the earth on Friday at the ninth hour (and remained) until Sunday at the rising

of the sun so that the earth might see the deeds of the Sabbath, its commandments, and its laws. The justice of the just, their praises, alms, blessings, and adoration are presented to her on Sunday,²³³ while the rebellious and the wicked tremble because of their sins.

The Sabbath said to Michael, Gabriel, Rumā'el,²³⁴ and Uriel ·²³⁵ "Bring to me all those who are mine, who believe in me, who neglect me not, who observe me and accept me." Michael ran with his hosts, descended, and seized all those who belonged to the Sabbath, as the Sabbath told him. The hosts of Michael fought with the hosts of Běrnā'el, and with their nails they took these hypocrites, the host of Hell, by the throat. They drove them to the bottom of Sheol and slapped them²³⁶ on the cheeks. They overpowered the hosts of Běrnā'el and subjugated them according to their deeds. Michael ascended to the Sabbath and said to her: "The riders of Hell assailed me and took me by force."²³⁷

The Sabbath said to God: "O Lord, my Creator, give me power over those who love me, and over those who are mine, and withhold not my servants from me." God said to the Sabbath: "I shall give thee all those who are thine, as thou hast asked me, and those who observe the commandments of the Sabbath." Those who live upon the earth, and observe not the commandments, will be rebuked by God. And for those who fear God, the Sabbath will stand before Him (and defend) the children of Adam on the last day. And she will say to God: "On that day I shall be witness for those who fear me and know me. And as for those who disregard me and know not God, the hosts of Běrnā'el will seize them and will throw the sinners into Hell."

God gave the Sabbath to Moses when Israel left Egypt.²³⁸ And the Sabbath was with God in His residence from all eternity. She went not from the mouth of God when the spirit of God moved upon the face of waters. She was not visible and was not yet ready.²³⁹ Then God divided the light from the darkness, and He called the light day, and the darkness He called night.²⁴⁰ God separated the waters, took them in His hands, blew into them and made the Heaven of Heavens.²⁴¹ [And He let the lights be]

for seasons, for days, for years, and for signs and placed them in the firmament of the Heaven to give light upon the earth. And God made the [two] great lights, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night, together with the stars. God created the sun and called it Tomās, 'Uryās, Bawā'ī, and Mawā'ī,²⁴² and He called the moon "the light of darkness."²⁴³ It (the sun) divides (the light) from the darkness all through the year and is also for prosperity, that all things may prosper which blossom and grow upon the earth. God created this on the fourth day. On the fifth day He created the great sea monsters in the depths of the waters; these were the first creatures of flesh that were created by His hands. He also created every living creature that moves in the waters and in the wells and every winged fowl after its kind. And the sun rose above them to make everything that was upon the earth prosper; everything that shoots out of the earth and all the fruit-bearing trees and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day.²⁴⁴ On the sixth day He created all the animals of the earth and all cattle and everything that moves on the earth. And after that He created man-kind; man and woman created He and gave them dominion over all that is upon the earth and over everything that multiplies and over the beasts and over everything that moves on the earth and over the whole earth. He gave them dominion over all this that He created on the sixth day.²⁴⁵ And there were twenty-two kinds.²⁴⁶ After finishing all His work on the sixth day, all that is in the heavens and on the earth, in the seas and in the abysses, in the light and in the darkness, and in everything, He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, for a rest from all work.²⁴⁷ And all the Angels of Presence,²⁴⁸ and all the holy angeis, these two kinds, He ordered to keep the Sabbath in Heaven and on earth.

And he said to them: "Behold, I shall separate (unto myself) a people from among the peoples,²⁴⁹ and they will keep the Sabbath day.²⁵⁰ And I shall sanctify the people and bless them. As I have sanctified the Sabbath day, even so shall I sanctify them and bless them, and they will be my people and I shall be their God.²⁵¹ I have chosen ²⁵² the seed of Jacob from among all that

I have seen,²⁵³ and I have written him down as my first-born son,²⁵⁴ and have sanctified him unto myself for ever and ever. I shall teach them the Sabbath day²⁵⁵ that they may keep the Sabbath thereon, free from all work.²⁵⁶ For I gave it to them as a sign.²⁵⁷ The angels of Heaven as well shall keep the Sabbath.²⁵⁸ He who accomplishes His command will raise a sweet savor that will be accepted before Him for all time.”²⁵⁹

There are twelve heads of mankind from Adam to Moses,²⁶⁰ and twenty-two kinds of work were made from the first day until the seventh day.

This one is blessed and holy, and this one too²⁶¹ is blessed and holy. And this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. The Sabbath was granted to him to be always²⁶² a blessed and a holy day, a testimony, and the first law. He was sanctified and blessed on the Sabbath.²⁶³

The first day He created Heaven and earth. After nine hundred and twelve weeks the king Gabra Masqal will govern; ²⁶⁴ four cycles will be added at his time. Others will reign after him; some of them will be good and perfect, and will walk in justice; others will be bad, forward, unjust, oppressors, extortioners; they will not do justice and will steal the belongings of others, they will oppress them without cause, and they will insult the widow and orphan. Therefore God, the Lord of all, will hide Himself from them.

. . . On the fifth day you shall bring offerings to God. The angels saw that (the Sabbath) was not sanctified on that day, and they stood before God.²⁶⁵ God said to His angels: “Why came you to me?” And the angels of God said to their Creator . . . Each of them went to his encampment and stayed in his tent. They reflected in their hearts, united in their dwellings, and came on the next day to Michael, Gabriel, Rufā’ēl, Rumā’ēl, and Uriel.²⁶⁶ The angels of God spoke, stood before God, prayed, were filled with awe, bowed down, and prostrated themselves at His feet. And while prostrating themselves they said: “Holy, Holy, Holy is Thy name for ever.” They worshiped and bowed down from morning until evening, and they were unable to get up and their eyes were

heavy. They bowed down and prostrated themselves because of the Sabbath, but God was not willing to show them compassion. And God said to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: "My servants, I spoke not to them," said God, "I gave it not to them," said God. The angels of God deliberated again, they slept not, slumbered not, nor ceased to reflect. The angels of God rose and stood on the Sabbath day, one hundred million seven hundred and nine thousand [?] at the right of God, and thousands and myriads at His left. They stood for forty-nine days before God, and God rejected their request. The angels said: "Be it far from Thee, Lord, give us the light of Thy glory, and destroy us not by the light of Thy glory." They stood, each of them at his place, and continued with praises and songs. The angels of Heaven and those from above the Heaven, standing respectfully before God, said: "Thou who art in Heaven and earth (be) blessed, blessed, blessed; Thou who dwellest in the Heaven of heavens, Thou art the eternal King, our Creator, our Father and our Lord. We implore [Thee], listen to us, and look at us in Thy grace and mercy."²⁶⁷

And in the second heaven they said:²⁶⁸ "Hallelujah, Thy name be praised, O God. Deliver us by the splendor of Thy praise. May God be blessed on the day the great Satan²⁶⁹ will be opposed to us." And they stood among themselves, each one in his encampment according to his people, his rank, his songs,²⁷⁰ his praise, and his action of grace.

The angels of the third heaven said: "Hallelujah, Thy name is glorified, Bēndā'ēl, Bērñā'ēl, and Bērsēbāḥēl."²⁷¹ And God rejoiced at the invocation of His name. He is our Father, the King of all. He reigns over His creatures. Then God gave the angels their food. The angels ate their manna,²⁷² measured and put it in with *'afā'if*,²⁷³ and its dimension was three.

Then the angels of God rejoiced, all with one voice, and all of them were gladdened by His praise. While God gave them bread they ate and drank,²⁷⁴ and, great and small, they praised with joy and delight God who had created them. They rejoiced, praising God on the New Moon and on the Sabbath, and served God by praising His name. They stood, each of them at his place, and

with their songs they praised Him, together with their hosts, on the New Moon when the doors of the house of God are open. For they are not closed ²⁷⁵ on the New Moon nor on the Sabbath.²⁷⁶

They shall offer sacrifices to God according to the law of the children of Levi: three bullocks, seven lambs, and two pure rams; ²⁷⁷ and they shall bring them to Jerusalem on the beginning of the New Moon until [?] and they shall observe it daily because of the sins of their souls.²⁷⁸

God created the Sabbath ²⁷⁹ and gave it to the children of man to forgive their faults, mischiefs, and sins; if you bring a sacrifice of a year-old sheep and of a year-old goat ²⁸⁰ (on that day) the sins will not be counted against you.

The seventh pure Sabbath is the Festival of the Harvest.²⁸¹ Beginning on the day after the Sabbath you will count (seven) weeks, and on the fiftieth day ²⁸² you shall neither strive nor travel nor slander. I am God, your Lord. After having heard these words . . . all those who commit sins shall be destroyed.

And now, O angels of Heaven, praise the man who observed my Sabbath. I shall reward him from my table.²⁸³ Because of the Sabbath the vine will give ten measures more for trading.²⁸⁴

God said to His Sabbath: "Go, descend to the earth." And the Sabbath descended from the highest Heaven to the earth in the midst of Jerusalem. Abel, Enoch, and Melchizedek, the great priest, received her. And all the angels of God crowned her, and then they dispersed in the midst of Heaven after having departed from her throne.

Those who celebrate the Sabbath and honor her and observe her will have their sins remitted.²⁸⁵ Those who give alms, remain silent, and pray with a confident heart on the Sabbath of God shall be delivered forever and shall rejoice.

Sabbath means "I am God, the Lord," says God.²⁸⁶ Remember me with good words. Those who pray with a right heart, and ask for grace on the Sabbath, shall have their sins remitted, as will those who are silent and give alms and pray at the Feasts of the Tabernacles and of the Harvest.

Thou shalt celebrate the Feast of Passover every year in its time,²⁸⁷ and the Festival of the New Moon. Thou shalt give tithes²⁸⁸ of all Thy corn, and thou shalt bring the tithe of the products of thy field to the priest, before God, and he will pardon the sins of men. [Thou shalt give] the first fruit of thy corn, the first-born of thine oxen and sheep, and of whatsoever thy hands have acquired.²⁸⁹

If you fulfill all my commandments and ordinances I shall look upon you, says God.²⁹⁰ If you observe my holidays, celebrate my Sabbaths, and keep my law, I shall be with you. After making you sick and hungry I shall make you²⁹¹ great, and you shall participate in my glory if you observe my commandments. If you observe not the commandments of God and (follow) the ancient temptation not to live in justice,²⁹² I, God, your Lord, shall expel you as I expelled you from your country. And I shall send hunger, plague, sterility, and scab²⁹³ so that (you will eat)²⁹⁴ the flesh of your sons and daughters. If there are people who know me not I shall punish them by my hands, and my sword will burn above those who know me not. This is my name forever and my fame for generations.

God said to Moses: "I gave thee the Sabbath for²⁹⁵ rest and for the invocation of my name. At the third Sabbath and²⁹⁶ the fifth New Moon . . . I am and I shall be. My name is forever." The Sabbath (is given) to man to believe in God. He who will pray, be submissive, praise, prostrate himself, purify his soul, and pray with a constant heart will be deprived of nothing. They who observe the laws and the Sabbath of God and celebrate the Sabbath of God shall live.

These are the commandments of the Sabbath for those who observe it. When God questions the inhabitants of the earth upon the day of His arrival,²⁹⁷ the Sabbath will stand before God on behalf of those who fear Him. As for those of the children of Adam who fear not God, a misfortune [?] will befall them at the last day.

Sabbath said to God: "Thy name is great forever. Thy name is gracious." God said to the Sabbath: "I am gracious for those

who belong to thee." The Sabbath will rise on the day on which God questions those who fear Him and those who fear Him not. Then the Sabbath will intercede for those who belong to her and will say to her Creator: "These are my people; these are my inheritance; these are they who walk in my path, who love me, who believe in me, who neglect Thee not, who find delight in Thee. Now they will enjoy eternal rest. Amen. But they who observe not Thy Sabbath, who walk not in Thy law, who neglect Thy commandments, who are not obedient to Thy covenant,²⁹⁸ who refuse Thy service, and who transgress Thy law will be cursed and condemned to Sheol forever. Be submissive to the law of God before your soul leaves you, and remember two calamities: first a bitter death, second a punishment without end. Remember this forever and forget it not."

In the first week Adam was created and the woman was created, too.²⁹⁹ In the [second] week God showed her unto him. Therefore the commandment was to regard their defilement as lasting for a male seven days and for a female twice seven days.³⁰⁰ After Adam had completed forty days in the land wherein he had been created, we brought him into the Garden of Edom to till and keep it, but his wife we brought in on the eightieth day, and then she entered into the Garden of Edom. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tables³⁰¹ in regard to her who gives birth: "If she bear³⁰² a male she shall remain in uncleanness seven days according to the first week, and thirty-three days shall she remain in the blood of her purification; she shall not touch a hallowed thing, not enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes the number of days (prescribed) for a male child.³⁰³ But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks [and sixty-six days] in the blood of her purification, so that there will be in all eighty days (of uncleanness)."³⁰⁴ When she completed the (eighty) days we brought her into the Garden of Edom, for it is holy.

And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham³⁰⁵ at the oak³⁰⁶ of Mamre,³⁰⁷ and we talked with

him and we announced to him that Isaac ³⁰⁸ would be borne by Sarah, (his) wife. And Sarah laughed, for she had heard that we had spoken these words to Abraham. We admonished her and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed at these words. And we told her ³⁰⁹ the name of her son, as his name Isaac was ordained and written in the heavenly tables, and (that) when we returned to her at the time appointed she would have borne a son.

And in this month God executed His judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah and Zeboim ³¹⁰ and the regions of the Jordan, and he burned them with fire.³¹¹

And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur.³¹² In the middle of the seventh ³¹³ month God visited Sarah, and He did unto her as He had spoken.³¹⁴ She conceived and bore a son in the third month. And in the middle of the month ³¹⁵ at the time of which God had spoken, on the festival of the first fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born.³¹⁶ Abraham died in the seventh [month]; ³¹⁷ he had been born on the eighth day.³¹⁸ God said to Abraham: "I love thee and thy seed forever."

May the praise of God be eternal.

ABBA ELIJAH

Synopsis

THIS text is homiletical in character, as the title "preacher" given to the supposed speaker, Abba Elijah, suggests.

After an introductory blessing (42, 1-2) the preacher calls on his brothers to consider the marvelous works of creation as related in Genesis and terminating in the creation of the Sabbath. He lists the names that God gave the Sabbath and speaks of the benefits granted to those who believe in it and pray in its name (42, 3-43, 7). He then speaks of the Ten Commandments and the exhortations God told Moses to address to Israel (43, 8-25). This is followed by an interesting section in which God (apparently on the Judgment Day) reprimands all the elements of nature: the sea, trees, mountains, stones, sun, moon, etc., for having seduced man to idolatry. The elements explain that man came to worship them of his own initiative. God thereupon announces that they will be punished (43, 26-44, 20).

Next comes an exhortation to humility. Men are rebuked for magnifying themselves and for not having listened to God. They are reminded of all the things God did in their behalf. In spite of all this they do not believe in Him, and though they have built houses of God their service is lacking in true spirit and moral integrity. The kind of man who will receive the reward is then described and exhortations against a materialistic philosophy of life are added (44, 21-45, 29). Reverting again to the Sabbath the preacher rebukes men for not honoring it properly. Conduct appropriate to the day is exhorted, coupled with promises and threats (45, 30-46, 17). An invitation is addressed to the peoples of the earth, small and great, with predictions of disaster for those who do not honor the Sabbath¹ (46, 18-27). The preacher stresses the frailty of man in contrast with God (46, 28-47, 10). Renewed exhortations follow, coupled with assurance of deliverance from future punishment if they are respected, and threats for

those who disregard them. Especial warning is again given against materialism, and the importance of almsgiving is emphasized (47, 11-48, 19). An eschatological section predicts calamities that God will send (presumably if men do not honor the Sabbath) and blessings if they honor it (48, 20-49, 14).

Sources

The Ethiopic Abba Elijah has nothing in common with the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah, in which Michael reveals the end of time to Elijah on Mt. Carmel.² Nor can any connection be traced with the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah.³ A vague relation to the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah might, however, be found in the name "Abba Elijah of the City of Rome" if we accept Aescoli's suggestion that "of the City of Rome" should be understood as meaning "*about* the City of Rome," a city which is mentioned in the Hebrew Apocalypse.⁴ The description of the various afflictions and misfortunes sent by God upon men also recalls the theme of the end of time in the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah, but in the Ethiopic Abba Elijah these punishments are sent to men because of their profanation of the Sabbath and are not a prophecy of the time of antichrist, as is the case in the Hebrew Apocalypse.

Abba Elijah, the preacher of our text, was probably a Falasha monk,⁵ although no document or tradition is preserved about him. As often happened with these monks, Abba Elijah may have received divine inspiration while living in a deserted place without any contact with his community and may then have returned to his village to preach. The themes of his preaching were dictated by his religious inspiration, and no doubt by the spirit of such existing Falasha writings as the Commandments of the Sabbath and perhaps of other writings of Jewish origin of which no trace has come down to our present time.

The few Christian elements, such as the mention of the spirit Legion and of some passages of the New Testament, do not warrant considering Abba Elijah as being originally a Christian writing expurgated by the Falashas of its Christian elements.⁶

The numerous Jewish themes, and especially the cult of the Sabbath, lead to the conclusion that Abba Elijah is an original Falasha writing⁷ in which some Christian elements were introduced due to the intimate relationship between the Falasha and Christian literatures.

Text and Bibliography

The English text is a translation of the Ethiopic text edited by Halévy. No other manuscript has been found up to now.

J. Halévy, *T'ēzāza Sanbat*, French synopsis, pp. xiii-xviii; Ethiopic text, pp. 41-50; French translation, pp. 165-172.

A. Z. Aescoli, *Hafalašim*, Hebrew analysis, pp. 105-106; Hebrew translation of some fragments, pp. 121-124.

Translation

Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel, the Lord of all spirit and of all flesh. Says the preacher Abba Elijah,⁸ of the City of Rome.⁹

Hearken, brothers, all the people who love us, and see the marvels that God, the Father of all, did in His wisdom.¹⁰ In the beginning He was created alone; then He created the ministering¹¹ angels¹² with a sheet of fire.¹³ The second day He created the Heaven of heavens. The third day He created the earth. The fourth day He created the sun, the moon, and the stars. The fifth day He created everything that lives upon (the earth), the creatures that move,¹⁴ the fishes, the sea monsters, the birds, and all the creatures that walk on four feet and on two feet.¹⁵ On Friday He created Adam and Eve; he took a bone from Adam's side and made of it a wife for him. Because of her,¹⁶ sins abounded and the punishment was great.¹⁷ The seventh day He created the Sabbath¹⁸ for glory and for joy, to eat and to drink, to rest, to pray, and to show mercy.¹⁹ Having accomplished all this, He rested on that day from all His work.

God gave to the Sabbath the name of the Luminous, Glorified, Honored, Beautiful, Resuscitating, Rejoicing, Beloved, and Guardian.²⁰ Those who pray in the name of that day and who believe

in it shall be saved. The sick and the suffering shall be healed; those afflicted by leprosy shall be purified from their sickness; ²¹ those possessed by spirits, by Bāryā ²² or Lēgēwon, ²³ He shall liberate; ²⁴ those who committed many sins but pray on that day with a constant heart shall have their sins remitted. He who wants to give alms and to bring offerings on that day shall do so wherever he desires. ²⁵

After Israel was numbered [when they had departed¹ from Egypt] because of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, God said to Moses: "Thou art my beloved, my soul is well pleased with thee, my true servant. I shall give thee as salvation Ten Commandments written with my hand. ²⁶ And now say to the children of Israel who remained and who stay with thee: 'Worship not other gods, I have destroyed those of Israel who have abandoned my commandments; rebel not against God.' ²⁷ God says: 'I am in Heaven, I am on earth, there is no other God save me. I cause to die and to live, ²⁸ I punish and am gracious; none can be delivered out of my hand. I am jealous. ²⁹ My heart burns like fire because of those who listen not to my commandments and abandon my covenant and worship other gods who have feet but walk not, eyes but see not, mouths but talk not, ears but hear not.' ³⁰ Senseless people, who prefer darkness rather than light and the salvation of their souls. The acts of justice (seem) to them more bitter than colocynth and wormwood; the acts of sin are sweeter to them than honeycomb." ³¹

First (God) said to the sea: "Why came (men) to thee ³² and worshiped thee?" It answered: "O Lord, I did not overstep the limits Thou hadst imposed on me until today, but men came to me." ³³ God said to (men): "Go, you shall be punished by a sea of fire like the god you worshiped."

God said to the trees of the plain. "Why came (men) to you?" They said: "O Lord, we went not to them leaving the place where Thou hadst planted us, but they came to us and worshiped us who are not God." God said to (men): "Go, you shall be punished, like your god, by fire [and by Hell] whose worm sleeps not, and the fire thereof is not quenched." ³⁴

God said to the stones: "Why came (men) to you and worshiped you who are not God?" ³⁵ They said. "We left not our place, disobeyed Thee not ³⁶ and moved not until today, but men came to us." God said to (men): "Go, you shall be punished, like your gods, by locust and by stones burned in fire like iron."

God said to the mountains, to the hills, and to the sea: "Why came (men) to you and worshiped you?" They said "As for us, we went not to them, but they came to us." God said to (men): "Go, you shall be punished, like your god, by the Gehenna of fire, the mountains and hills shall destroy you." ³⁷

God said to the sun, to the moon, to the springs, and to the wells: "Why came (men) to you, worshiped you and offended my Holy Name?" They said: "O Lord, we were suspended from the firmament until today, but men worshiped Satan who took our appearance." God said to (men): ³⁸ "Go, you shall be punished with ³⁹ darkness. Go into Hell so that you may be sealed with the seal of the wicked, for you preferred darkness to the light of God, who took in your behalf dust of the earth and formed of it your father, Adam, with His holy fingers, ⁴⁰ after His likeness and image." ⁴¹

O men, why do you magnify yourselves? Today you are men, but tomorrow dust, ⁴² and then a putrefied corpse You, men, and all the creatures, hearken to my word and obey me. But you refused to listen to my word and did not have confidence in me.

God will again reprimand ⁴³ the children of men and will say to them: "I created on your behalf Heaven and earth, darkness and light, winter and summer, ⁴⁴ seed time and harvest time, each season in its time; lightning and hail, fog and snow I have sent. ⁴⁵ But in spite of that you did not believe in me, who am living and who created death, ⁴⁶ who reprimand you and make your souls leave your bodies In spite of that you did not believe in me I planted and uprooted on your behalf, but you did not believe in me I laid the foundation and destroyed, acted and spoke on your behalf, but in spite of that you did not believe in me. When you eat to satiety you forget me; when you are hungry you deny me, God, your blessed Lord! They say: 'Have mercy on us.' ⁴⁷ But

when have you shown confidence in me? What can you give me if not prayers and petitions? And did I ever refuse you your food?"⁴⁸

(God) says. "Why do you build a house of God if it is not for sacrifices and for prayers? Why do you fast . . .⁴⁹ men, if there is no love and offerings? In vain you go in the morning into the house [of God], you extortioners who multiply against me⁵⁰ bad deeds, sins, faults upon faults, and impiety.⁵¹ Remember the words of David: 'Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stands in the way of sinners, nor sits in the seat of the scornful. But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in His law does he meditate day and night.'"⁵²

He who assiduously watches over my word and my grace and serves me in my house always, day and night, is my servant. He will receive the reward, will inherit with me and will rejoice in my kingdom.

Think not of the substance of this world, (its) joys and pleasures, for (as) in a dream thou art satiated and when thou wakest up thou findest thyself with an empty belly,⁵³ even so are the joys [of this world]. Like a shadow that passed away yesterday,⁵⁴ even so is the substance and the glory of this world. Remember what He said: "They who were honored are as if they were honored not; they who rejoiced are as if they rejoiced not; they who lived deliciously are as if they lived not so; they who ate are as if they ate not; they who drank are as if they drank not; they who married are as if they married not; they who did beget are as if they had not begotten. They who bear grudges in their hearts and are haughty vilify their souls in the bands of wickedness that will never be loosened.

Why, O men, do you hate your rest and your life? Why do you not honor the Sabbath? And why are you not ashamed, you who honor not the Sabbath? They honor the Sabbath in their temples. Sabbath means "I am God alone."⁵⁵

And on that day, those in this world who shall have confidence in the Sabbath and shall repent will be saved because of my Holy Name.⁵⁶ On that day⁵⁷ restrain your feet and keep them

from walking, your hands from working, your mouth, tongue, and voice from uttering lies, iniquity, guile, and blasphemy,⁵⁸ except from glorifying God; abandon anger and may your hearts and thoughts turn toward the fear of my name. On that day you shall not kill, you shall not do any evil, you shall not slander your neighbor, you shall not steal from your neighbor nor rob him, you shall not swear by my name [falsely]. On that day you shall show mercy and grace and give alms to all; you shall not extort food one from the other. Honor the poor, the miserable, the widow, and the orphan; dress the naked, satisfy the hungry,⁵⁹ give drink to the thirsty, and you shall not hide yourselves from those who are with you.⁶⁰ Beware lest because of the food (that you eat) and of your words there should be a downfall.

Love the poor and the stranger,⁶¹ bring him into your ⁶² house, and I shall be with you. If you do this because of my name, your reward will not be lost on that day and you will find rest in Heaven.

Hearken to my words and to my voice, you peoples of the earth, small and great. He who shall neither ask for my favor nor pray will be joined to the impious.⁶³ To you that do not honor ⁶⁴ the Sabbath I shall send into your country the fury of my anger: hunger, plague, and pestilence.⁶⁵ The water springs will diminish. I shall send unto you sickness, distress, great calamities, and afflictions. I shall send tribulation, consumption,⁶⁶ and hate into your cities and among the inhabitants of your houses. [I shall stir up strife] king against king, prince against prince. I shall punish you ⁶⁷ and I shall overthrow you from your thrones.⁶⁸

You shall not appoint anyone unless I appoint him. You shall make none destitute unless I make him so. You shall not judge anyone unless I judge him. You shall not punish anyone unless I punish him.⁶⁹ As for me, my days will not pass away, my kingdom will not be destroyed, my glory and praise will not end, my throne will not be shaken forever.

You are foolish people, (you are) like the grass of the house-tops that is pulled out. When you see a cloud you announce rain,⁷⁰ but when the sky is clear you say that it will not rain. My

counsel is not your counsel, my thoughts are not your thoughts. You say: "We shall go where we want,"⁷¹ but you shall not go against my will. You say: "I shall appoint him as king," but no prince is appointed against my will. The bird enters not into the net against my will. The leaf of the tree⁷² falls not down against my will. A thousand years are for me like one year for you.⁷³ What is far for you is near for me; what is difficult for you is easy for me; what is honorable for you is base for me. [What profit] has man when he stays with you, whereas it is for your (eternal) life when you stay with me.

Purify your souls from sin and faults. Why do you call me "Lord" if you fulfill not my will? As the Preacher says: "Vain, everything is vain and ephemeral except that which man does in his life to redeem his⁷⁴ soul." Like the wells of the Sheol⁷⁵ that are never satiated with sinners, men have not been satiated with wealth until today. Refrain from refusing thy riches [to thy neighbor] and take not unjustly the wealth of thy neighbors. Refrain from slandering thy neighbor.⁷⁶ Thou shalt not despise thy neighbor; let him rather despise thee. Thou shalt not speak evil of thy brother and thy neighbor; let him rather speak evil of thee. Thou shalt not be angry at thy neighbor; ⁷⁷ let him rather do injustice to thee.⁷⁸

Remember what David says: "The just⁷⁹ will be blessed, and the meek will inherit the earth; ⁸⁰ they will abide on it forever." To all those who do bad deeds, I shall give a good measure, pressed down and shaken together.⁸¹ I shall punish them according to their deeds and reward them according to their merit.

If thou regardest good deeds, perseverance, simplicity, tranquillity, love, sacrifice, and mercy, thou shalt be saved from all the punishments inflicted by God. Thou shalt deliver thy soul out of the oven of fire and acquire in Heaven a treasure which will not perish. Our ancestors have inherited the Kingdom of Heaven by their actions: Noah by his faith, Job by his patience,⁸² Abraham by his love of strangers.⁸³

Remember what the Scripture says: "The soul in Hell says: 'The love of wealth prevented me from repentance upon the

earth. What shall we have in Heaven, we who did no good deeds upon earth? Nothing will redeem us when we arrive before God, the just, the pure, the gentle, and the merciful.' ”

Remember what the Scripture says to the rich: “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, but lay up for yourselves treasures in Heaven ⁸⁴ where nothing is spoiled nor corrupted, where there are no worms nor moths, where thieves break not through to take the treasures.”

Alms are better than sacrifices, better than all eulo[gies].⁸⁵ O alms, thou guidest in life. O alms, thou openest the doors of mercies. O alms, thou bringest [man] before God. O alms, thou shinest like a bright face. O alms, thou bringest [man] in joy unto the celestial kingdom where there is no death, where the gentle and merciful live. Nothing is like offerings and mercifulness. As water quenches burning fire, even so alms strikes out sin; as water cleanses a dirty cloth, even so alms purifies man from impurity.⁸⁶

Remember what is said in the Psalms: “Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.⁸⁷ It is in vain for you to rise up early.” ⁸⁸

And I shall destroy your cities,⁸⁹ and I shall make waste your houses, and your land shall be desolate. I shall send against you the locust, stones, and hot water of the sky. I shall send against you the lightning, thunder, hail, snow, and strong winds that will destroy you. I shall send against you lions, tigers,⁹⁰ foxes, hyenas, wolves, frogs, serpents with sharp-pointed teeth [that will devour you and the animals] that you graze, your oxen, donkeys, horses, sheep, and goats.⁹¹ I shall send against you a bird that will strangle all your men when it strikes its wings, (a bird) that will destroy and exterminate the youngsters and the little ones. I shall abolish winter and summer. I shall not bring down rain, wind, and dew upon your land, so that you shall perish by hunger. I shall bring and send against you the locust, the grasshoppers, the kite, and snow that will devour the fruits of your earth. I shall strike you with leprosy and shall deform you. I shall send against you a worm that will cut your trees under your eyes. I shall send

against you a foreign people ⁹² that will kill you with bitter wrath and will eat ⁹³ your women, your old and young people.

Your prayer will not be heard; my thought will not desire your offering and incense and will not forgive your sins.⁹⁴

If you honor my Sabbath I shall send to you my peace, my grace, and my great help. I shall listen to your prayers and forgive your sins. I shall deliver you quickly from the last ⁹⁵ punishment of fire, from your enemies, and from those who hate you. I shall save you from invasion and from plundering. I shall bless the fruits of your land and you will eat with joy. I shall multiply your days and shall not abandon you forever. I shall redeem you on the day of vengeance and shall deliver you out of the oven of fire. I shall give you to inherit a new land in which there is no desolation, and you shall enter into your rest where there is no death.

BOOK OF THE ANGELS

General Character and Synopsis

IT is a remarkable fact that Jewish apocalyptic literature should have exercised so vast an influence upon Christian literature and induced so much imitation. Only a small part of this literature was admitted by the Jewish authorities into the canon of their sacred writings—the book of Daniel being the most important, indeed the only, case in point. On the whole the apocalyptic literature seems to have flourished mostly in sectarian Jewish quarters and was of an esoteric nature. Christianity also had a certain amount of this apocalypticism, represented in the New Testament by the Book of Revelations. But just as there are many Jewish apocalypses besides Daniel, so there were many Christian apocalypses besides Revelations. In many cases Jewish apocalyptic materials were simply taken over, translated, and provided with Christian additions. There thus were numerous apocalypses in the Greek language, and in Egypt some of these were rendered into Coptic. In view of the dominant influence of the Copts on the Christian church of Ethiopia it was natural that such apocalypses should also pass over into the Ethiopic language. The Book of the Angels is one of these apocalyptic texts that has survived. Its contents are as follows:

After an initial blessing and exhortation the departure of the soul from the body is related. Two angels accompany man into the hereafter the Angel of Light records his good deeds, the Angel of Darkness his bad ones (52, 1-10). The pure soul is brought before God and is received by the angels and the patriarchs with joy (52, 11-53, 11). The Angel of Darkness, who was unable to seduce man during his lifetime, is punished severely by his master Bëryäl (53, 12-54, 4). But when the soul of a wicked man rises to Heaven, the hosts of Bëryäl rejoice (54, 4-12). They punish the soul, which then goes to Sheol accompanied by the joyous clamor of the bad angels (54, 13-55, 12). The angel Mastimā,

who succeeded in seducing man, is rewarded by his master (55, 12-28). All the evil forces contemplate the doom of mankind (55, 29-35). The book ends with an exhortation by the writer to do good and be righteous (55, 36-56, 8).

Sources and Age

The Book of the Angels seems to be a more detailed version of the beginning of the Apocalypse of Paul, or *Visio Pauli*.¹ In the beginning of each, and especially in the Syriac version of the Paul Apocalypse,² there is a conflict between the good and the evil angels. Various evil spirits, those of error, of temptation, of fornication, and many others, come to meet the soul;³ but they find nothing. Then the guardian angels bid them go back, and the voices of many angels are heard rejoicing over the soul. The description in the Book of the Angels is the more picturesque of the two, and we find in it names of angels not mentioned in the Apocalypse of Paul. In the latter too we miss the theme of Beryāl punishing his subordinates for not having succeeded in seducing man, as well as the final exhortation of the author. Survivals of an earlier Greek stage of this material, however, are the words *Diablos* and *Paracritos*.

In general one has the impression that the Book of the Angels and the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch⁴ formed a single writing based on the Apocalypse of Paul. In fact just as the Book of the Angels corresponds to the beginning of the Apocalypse of Paul the Apocalypse of Baruch is related to the latter part.

An abridged version of both these Falasha writings seems to be the Apocalypse of Gorgorios,⁵ in which the latter, guided by the angel Michael, witnesses how the souls of a righteous and of a wicked man leave their bodies and then sees Hell and Paradise.

The Apocalypse of Paul seems to have appeared in the latter part of the fourth century. Its oriental versions must naturally be younger than the Greek, and it may well be that it passed into Ethiopic last of all. On very general grounds one might hold that this took place in the seventh or eighth century. The absence

of Arabic influence might suggest that it existed in Ethiopic before the fifteenth century, though this sheds no light on the time of its reception by the Falashas.

Text and Bibliography

The present text is translated from the Ethiopic text published by Halévy. No other manuscript of it has been found as yet.

J. Halévy, *Tě'ezāza Sanbat*, French synopsis, pp. xvii-xviii; Ethiopic text, pp. 51-56; French translation, pp. 173-177.

A. Z. Aescoli, *Hafalašim*, Hebrew synopsis, pp. 103-104; Hebrew translation, pp. 128-130.

Translation

Blessed be God, the Lord of all souls and of all flesh.

Hearken, my beloved, to the words of this book.

There are two angels (at our side), one on the right and one on the left. They record all the good and the bad deeds we do. The Angel of Light records the good deeds, the Angel of Darkness ⁶ records the [bad] deeds; ⁷ they vie with one another until [our] death. When the time arrives for the departure of man from this world, they bring the books ⁸ before God.⁹ Michael and Běrnā'el ¹⁰ place the books (that record) the good and the bad actions which man has done on the scales before God.¹¹

When the Angel of Light is victorious God is very joyful in His Holy Spirit and says to the Angel of Light who stayed with the soul. "Bring this soul (that was) pure and brilliant during her lifetime to rest and peace and say to her: 'Thou hast despised the world and confounded Satan, the Diyāblos, thine enemy.' " The hosts of the angels of Heaven rejoice [and say]: "O bright and pure soul, white as the white snow, thine odor is as (the odor) of the tree of life ¹² that shines in the garden, [thy splendor is] as the brilliant sun." The angels receive the soul with great praise and with censers. The angels of Heaven go down to meet this soul; ¹³ in their hands are crowns of gold and silver, like a rainbow made

of nard.¹⁴ Some of them are of lightning, others of fire. Then the priests Abel, Seth, Noah,¹⁵ and Melchizedek, all the souls of the just, the prophets, and all the chosen ones go down to the fifth and seventh heavens.¹⁶ The angels say to this soul: "Peace upon thee, thou hast confounded thine enemy, the Devil, and the Angel of Darkness." All the angels of Heaven speak to this soul and bring her before God. They clothe her in white raiment from above,¹⁷ and with their holy hands they put a seal upon her face.¹⁸ They say to her: "Enter to thy holy fathers and they will lead thee into the garden of joy." The just receive her and say to her: "Come into our midst, O bright and pure soul."

The Angel of Darkness¹⁹ goes empty-handed to his master, who says to him: "Where hast thou been? I bound thee to the man from childhood unto old age and the end of his days. Where hast thou been? And why hast thou not awakened in him (love of) honor and of anger?"²⁰ The Angel of Darkness answers Bëryāl: ²¹ "I failed in this, and he had the upper hand over me in all things." ²² "Why hast thou not induced in him mockery, pride, and arrogance?" The Angel of Darkness answers, and says to him: "In this too, I failed." Bërnā'ēl says to him: "Why hast thou not seduced him to fornication, adultery, idolatry, love of wealth, and perversion of judgment?" The angel says: "I failed in this and he vanquished me." Bërnā'ēl says to him: "Why hast thou not seduced him to profanation of the Sabbath, abandonment of prayer, perjury, killing without law and justice?" The Angel of Darkness says: "I failed in this and was vanquished." Wrath and anger kindled within Bërnā'ēl, and he hit the face of the Angel of Darkness with a bolt of lightning. From the force of the blow the angel fell upon the earth. Bërnā'ēl removed his veil and the golden crown from his head, he gnashed his teeth in anger and fury. [He struck the Angel of Darkness] and the teeth of the angel, which were seven cubits long, were broken. And when the crown had been taken off his head the angel wept bitterly for forty days and forty nights, saying: "Woe unto me, woe unto me! I have become a scorn and derision ²³ to all those who invoke the name of God." (Bërnā'ēl) cut his throat with a blow of his hundred and

forty nails, trampled on him with his forty [feet],²⁴ brought him down into the depths of darkness, established his throne in Hell, sat down upon him, and moved around, trampling [him] with his feet.²⁵

Then the Angel of Darkness heard that they had sent Parāqlīṭos, the guardian of the sorrows of death,²⁶ to (the man) to bring forth his soul. And the torments of death enter into this miserable and rebellious soul; they penetrate the heart (of man), tear it to pieces all at once, consume it for seven days and seven nights, and give (it) no rest, as it is said in the Psalms: "The death of the sinner is desolate." And it also says: "The death of the just is precious in the sight of God."²⁷

They bring the soul with great clamor and weeping; the armies of Bēryāl crush and beat her²⁸ while she is stripped.²⁹ The soul says to those who bring her: "Give me a little rest." They say to her: "There is no rest here in the fire, run quickly," and push her like those who goad an ox or like those who slaughter it before the king. Thus they treat this soul with shame and dishonor.

The soul says to those who push her. "In the name of God, give me a little rest, for my knees are weak and my members are broken for having run so much with no rest." The angels of darkness say to her: "Didst thou not deny God? Why didst thou worship idols³⁰ of gold and silver which can help thee not and which cannot save your soul, and not³¹ God alone [who manifests himself] in the terrible circuit, lightning, thunder, and the sound of thunder?³² Heaven and earth cannot bear his praise." The soul shouts then and says: "It were better for me had I not been born for death and the womb of my mother were my grave. Cursed be the day in which I was born; let it not be counted in the number of the months and of the years."³³

They place this soul fearful and trembling before God. God questions this soul and says to her.³⁴ "I gave thee good and bad days, drink, food, and the delights of the world. I gave thee days of thy life; I gave thee books and priests. Did I not give thee eyes to see with, ears to hear with, feet to walk with, hands to touch

with, and a heart with which to think? ³⁵ Why didst thou deny thy Creator, and why wert thou rebellious?" The soul said: "If I had known Hell I would not have taken food, nor drunk water, nor sucked the breasts of my mother. ³⁶ Woe unto me, woe unto me! Would that I had not been born." God says: "Take this soul to Sheol (where there is) gnashing of teeth, ³⁷ and she shall stay there forever." The miserable and rebellious soul heard it, shouted aloud, and lamented with bitter tears. When the angels of Heaven heard it they wept with her and said: "It had been better for the man if he had not been born." When the hosts of Běrnā'ēl heard it they were glad and rejoiced greatly because of the doom of the soul.

Běrnā'ēl [said then] to his army: "Bring the Angel of Darkness who stayed with this soul and led it astray. He will receive a golden crown because he has accomplished my will, and he is the beloved of my soul" They brought the Angel of Darkness and placed him before Běrnā'ēl, the lord of the spirits, of the impure devils, of the seducers, and of the dark ones. And Běrnā'ēl said: "Verily, thou art my son, angel Mastimā," ³⁸ adorned him with golden garments, and put on his head a golden diadem, supreme of its kind. The Angel of Darkness rejoiced before the hosts of Hell. Běrnā'ēl said again [to the first Angel of Darkness]. ³⁹ 'Now [thou hast] seen how he has rejoiced, but thou hast been vanquished by that soul, be thou therefore cursed." When the Angel of Darkness who had been vanquished ⁴⁰ heard this, he said: "Death is better for me than all these torments. ⁴¹ Would that I were not born! I have become a scorn to my companions."

The hosts of Hell conversed with the angels of darkness. Běrnā'ēl, their master, went [to them and they said]: "According to what God has sent [thee], thou art our chief. Let us lead astray the men who live upon the earth." Běrnā'ēl heard it, rejoiced, and said: "Be blessed." Many angels of death, spirits, and seducing devils without number went down and considered [the doom] of mankind.

My beloved, know this, think it over in your heart, and keep

it in your mind, so that you shall not fall into the snares of Satan and into the hands of the rapacious Devil.

Now fear God, for none will curse those who fear God. They will be saved from all temptations ⁴² in Heaven and on earth. Do nothing without the advice and the wisdom of God (who) laid the foundation of the world. You shall be saved from the serpent ⁴³ and its snares if you are wise in this thing. Do not consider this as of little value.

BARUCH

General Character

IT is a tribute to the great esteem enjoyed by the book of the prophet Jeremiah in ancient times that his secretary and presumable disciple Baruch should have so interested aspiring authors looking for a good pseudonym. To hitch one's chariot to a star was considered the best way of gaining attention in the realm of letters. A whole Baruch literature has thus come down to us, and as we shall see, one of the most interesting specimens of it is an Ethiopic apocalypse. As it is closely connected with the other Baruch literature we must briefly consider some pertinent data concerning that whole area of pseudonymous production. The data are as follows:

First Baruch or The Book of Baruch

This is one of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. In the Septuagint it stands between Jeremiah and Lamentations; in the Vulgate, after Lamentations. There is no agreement among scholars concerning the unity of the book, the language in which it was first written (Greek or Hebrew), its date, or the dates of its component parts.¹

Second Baruch or The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch

This apocalypse is a "series of visions, connected by narrative or hortatory and highly rhetorical passages."²

Written originally in Hebrew (or in Aramaic, according to others),³ it was translated early into Greek and then from Greek into Syriac. Of the Hebrew original nothing has been preserved. Of the Greek version only portions are preserved in the "Rest of the Words of Baruch," and in a late Apocalypse of Baruch, of which we shall speak in the next section. The Syriac translation has preserved the book in its entirety. There is some disagreement as to whether the Second Baruch belongs to the first or second century A.D. There is no agreement, either, on the question of its unity and its relation to the fourth Ezra, though most scholars believe that it is dependent on the latter.⁴

Third Baruch or The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch

There is also a Greek apocalypse, often referred to as the third Baruch.⁵ Baruch is here conducted through the five heavens by an angel, and tells of the revelation he received.⁶ A Slavonic version was the first to be published; it gives an account of only two heavens and seems to be an abridgment of the Greek text. That the Greek original must have been fuller than the surviving Greek text is clear from Origen's intimation that it told of seven heavens.⁷

There is no agreement as to whether the author was a Jew or a Christian.⁸ It was probably compiled in the beginning of the second century. The third Baruch makes use of the Ethiopic and Slavonic books of Enoch, of the Pauline Epistles, and of certain apocalyptic works.⁹

Fourth Baruch or The Rest of the Words of Baruch

This Book of Baruch, called The Paralipomena of Jeremiah, narrates what happened to Baruch and Abimelek (Ebed-Melek) at the fall of Jerusalem. It exists in Greek, Armenian, Slavonic, and Ethiopic.¹⁰ Here again there is no agreement concerning authorship. J. R. Harris,¹¹ author of the most detailed study of it, considers it a Christian book written soon after 136 A.D. by a Jewish-Christian living in the city of Jerusalem. Others, like K. Kohler,¹² E. Schurer,¹³ and L. Ginzberg,¹⁴ assert that it is in origin a Jewish book with considerable Christian additions and interpolations.

Fifth Baruch or The Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch

Besides these four different books of Baruch and other fragments and citations in which Baruch is mentioned,¹⁵ there is an Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch which we may call the fifth Baruch, quite different from the foregoing.¹⁶ The Ethiopic text with a French translation was published by J. Halévy in his *T'ēzāza Sanbat*, pp. 80-96 and 196-209, from a unique manuscript. Curiously enough it escaped the attention of all the scholars who dealt with apocalyptic literature, and was first noticed by Aescoli. This can probably be explained by the fact that Halévy named his collection of the Falasha texts after one of them, the *T'ēzāza Sanbat*, and few realized that it also contained other texts.

The fifth Baruch is composed of two parts. In the first part Baruch, guided by the angel Sutu'el, ascends to Heaven and sees the rewards of the just and the punishments of the sinners. The second part deals with the future, with the time of the antichrist, of the Messiah, and of the resurrection.

Synopsis of Fifth Baruch

After a brief introductory blessing the writer expresses his intention to record what God revealed to Abba Baruch. He then relates how Baruch came to Jerusalem at the age of thirty-five and was made associate doorkeeper. He fell into a deep sleep after he had drawn water and covered it with a fig loaf. The text would seem to imply that it was while he was asleep that the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar took place, although there is no mention of how he escaped being killed or captured (64, 1-65, 4). The angel Sutu'el came and carried him to the Heavenly Jerusalem and answered all his questions. In this way Baruch learned that the martyrs have special honor there and that the Heavenly City was made before the creation of Adam, that there is a golden column there inscribed with the names of all the just since Adam, that there is a place for married couples and a golden bed and other things for virgins (65, 5-33). They then went to "a great city" where there was a house and apparently a garden with trees full of fruit belonging to those who despised the world, who may enter through the gate Adam built of old (65, 34-66, 4). Next they came to a stream of oil, which was also for those who despised the world, and after crossing it they came to a stream of milk which was for the children who "were chosen" while still in their mothers' wombs and for hermits (66, 5-20). They came to a white and shining city which was reserved for the just governors and kings (66, 21-31). Facing it was a city of supreme brilliance for those mighty of the earth who killed no one and avoided superstitious practices (66, 32-67, 4). On a golden ship Baruch and the angel crossed over to the place of the City of God which was for the meek and charitable (67, 5-16). But the angel took him away from here and brought him to

'Aqrābā, the Land of the Living, where he saw Enoch and Elijah writing down the deeds of the just (67, 17-20).

At this point a predictive section is interpolated referring to what will happen "in the days of this man" (67, 21-68, 3). Proceeding with their celestial sight-seeing expedition Baruch and the angel beheld a stream of honey which was for the prophets, and opposite it they discerned the stream of wine for those who despised the world, were hospitable, and loved their neighbors (68, 4-12). The angel then took Baruch to the east and showed him a golden column on which both the names and features of the just were engraved with a golden pen. It is said to be in the Land of the Living, and Enoch and Elijah live there (68, 13-28).

In another area however he saw fruit trees and a stream from which men vainly attempted to eat and drink. It was the city of hermits who had been boastful and haughty despite outward compliance with the laws (68, 28-69, 7). Thereupon he was taken to another residence of the hermits, of incredible brilliance, known to none but God, where only perfect hermits might enter (69, 8-35). Apparently all these blessed places (though the one described in 68, 29-69, 7 does not belong fully in this category) lay in the east.

Sutu'el then took Baruch to the west. He first saw a column of fire on which were written the names of all sinners. Opposite it he saw virgins "clothed in darkness" who had to remain in this land of suffering because of avarice (69, 36-70, 8). There was a stream of fire and men sitting on seats of fire; these turned out to be priests who had defiled the temple or accepted bribes (70, 9-19). There was a sea of fire by which many priests and teachers were being swallowed for laxity in the law (70, 20-31). Next there was an abyss of fire for those who had lost their virginity in deserted places without their parents giving them in marriage (70, 32-71, 2). There was also "an abyss and a big pit of fire" in which people were swallowed to various degrees, from the knees to complete submersion, depending on the nature of the sins they had committed (71, 3-14). Then there was "an abyss and pit" of extreme depth for fornicators of all sorts (71, 15-23). There were

fiery rocks for those who had worshiped stones (71, 24-28). There were great trees, all of fire, from which men were suspended with serpents and dogs devouring them: they were those who had taken the lives of unborn children with medicines. The infants themselves were given to Těmlěyākos, an angelic protector (71, 29-72, 2). There was a caldron of fire in which kings, governors, and princes were being punished (72, 3-9).

At this point a lengthy section intended to give proper warning to potentates describes the woes and blessings to be earned by those who conduct the affairs of state here on earth (72, 9-73, 6). Then, resuming the visionary account, Baruch sees the "horrible and great judgments" of the wicked kings who corrupted the world and defiled the sanctuary (73, 7-13). He sees a pit of fire full of princes and wealthy people who are being tortured by fiery serpents (73, 14-28). The explanatory element, however, unexpectedly refers to those so punished as hermits who did not abide by their principles. He sees men made to run on burning sand: deacons who were slothful in their duty at the sanctuary (73, 29-32). He sees men suspended by burning ropes, head down: priests who did not fulfill their sacrificial duty (73, 33-74, 1). He sees some who are made to touch fire or are given cups of fire to drink. priests and deacons who did not sacrifice with pure heart or who transgressed their rules of office (74, 2-6). He sees men whose hands were cut off: the writers of magic texts (74, 7-9). He sees men from whose mouths come fire and sulphur: tailors who kept a piece of thread for themselves (74, 10-13). He sees people "tormented with cords of fire and searing flame" and tantalized by fruits and water that they cannot partake of: they are those who had broken the fast (74, 14-19).

A conclusion seems to be reached with 74, 20, but further material has evidently been appended. There is first of all a vision of Gehenna, whose angel opens the seal at Sutu'el's request and shows Baruch the punishments being inflicted there (74, 21-34). To this has been joined an apocalyptic passage (74, 35-75, 8)—rather artificially, for it is not clear how the angel of Gehenna could show Baruch the historical future. The visionary sees bad

years and good years and the reign of a queen under whom there will be great joy (Helena), as well as of Constantine and Theodosius, and king Gabra Masqal of the city of Aksum, the ancient Ethiopian capital (75, 9-15). This is followed by a period of decline (75, 16-25). In the "twenty-fourth year of mercy," however, there will be a renewal of blessedness. A "righteous man"—obviously the Messiah—will reign thirty years in the five hundred forty-eighth cycle (75, 26-32). After him comes the false messiah or antichrist who will reign seven years (75, 33-76, 4). When God terminates his tenure the "lion" will reign seven years (or sixty-seven in the count of the cycle). Under him there will be a great council and the cross will ascend to Heaven. There is great mourning and the king dies and is carried off to the garden of joy by Michael and Gabriel. The demon Qolëyon and his host now will reign for seven years. Thereafter the eagle will reign seven years at Jerusalem, devouring numberless girls. Finally the winds will reign for seven years (76, 5-21). All this is terminated by the blowing of the trumpet by Michael, the resurrection of the dead, and the coming of the King of Heaven and Earth to reward men according to their deeds (76, 22-31).

In conclusion Baruch repeats a sentiment reminiscent of John 21: 25 and declares that this book was dictated by the Holy Spirit to two priests of Jerusalem who gave it to the God-fearing King Masfëyānos.

Sources and Age

The Falasha Apocalypse of Baruch is a copy of the Christian-Ethiopic text. It is one of the few writings for which we have a Falasha and a Christian-Ethiopic version.¹⁷ It will therefore be useful to examine the method applied by the Falashas when using a Christian text which they adopted for their own liturgical use. In general it can be said that the Falasha copyist was careless in copying the Christian-Ethiopic text. This could be attributed to the fact that the Falashas have a rather imperfect knowledge of the Geez language. As for the contents, any mention of a specifi-

cally Christian institution or belief is expurgated from the Falasha text. Thus, for example, the initial formula of any Ethiopic text, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," is replaced by the Falasha formula, "Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel"; the name of Christ or passages relating to Christ are omitted entirely or replaced by God, as in "the City of God" instead of "the City of Christ"; "church" is replaced by "sanctuary," "Gospel" by "Book"; the mention of "bishop" is omitted since the only religious authorities of the Falasha are the priest, the high priest, and ultimately, the monk. The Falasha text, however, does retain some Christian elements such as the image of the cross, the veneration of Sunday, the occasional mention of the Holy Spirit and of some of the Roman emperors who were protectors of Christianity.

The Apocalypse of Baruch contains, of course, nearly all the elements which we find in the apocalyptic and apocryphal books, such as Enoch and Ezra. But its main part, dealing with the details of Hell and Paradise, goes back to the Ethiopic Apocalypse of the Virgin,¹⁸ or in many places may even be a copy of it.¹⁹

As for the Ethiopic Apocalypse of the Virgin, it is an adaptation of the Apocalypse of Paul or *Visio Pauli*,²⁰ an apocalyptic work written as early as the third century.²¹ This work, which exists in the Latin, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, Greek, Old Russian, and Syriac versions,²² apparently has as its chief source the Apocalypse of Peter, an important work written as early as the second century.²³

All the Ethiopic apocalypses, of Peter,²⁴ of the Virgin, and of Baruch, seem to be translations from Arabic sources,²⁵ which in turn were probably translated from the Greek.

The second part of the fifth Baruch, which deals with the time of antichrist, the Messiah, and the resurrection, is a very abridged form of other apocalyptic works such as the Ethiopic apocalypse of Peter, the Apocalypse of Thomas, and others dealing with the same subject.

The complicated literary relations of the material contained in the fifth Baruch show that it has roots reaching back into early

Christian history. The Christian-Ethiopic apocalypse presumably took shape in the latter part of the period of the translation of biblical works in the seventh century. Mention of Gabra Masqal, who reigned about 550 A.D., precludes any much earlier dating. The antiquity of the Falasha adaptation of the apocalypse is difficult to determine. There are not many historical indications in the Apocalypse of Baruch which would allow one to determine the time in which the book was adapted. Moreover, the few historical data contained in the book are incorrect.

Texts and Bibliography

The English text is a translation of the Ethiopic text published by Halévy; this manuscript is marked H in the notes. The corrections made on the basis of the Orient MS, 503 of the British Museum (marked B) and of d'Abbadie MS, 247 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (marked A) are indicated in the footnotes. For these manuscripts, see n. 17. Minor grammatical mistakes are not indicated.

J. Halévy, *T'ēzāza Sanbat*, French synopsis, pp. xxiii-xxvii; Ethiopic text, pp. 80-96; French translation, pp. 196-209.

A. Z. Aescoli, *Hafalašim*, Hebrew analysis, pp. 111-113.

Translation

Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel.

We shall write that which God has revealed to the blessed, holy, and praised Abba Baruch.²⁶ When he was thirty-five years of age his parents took him to Jerusalem and put him in service with the High Priest, named 'Ĕškēndros.²⁷ The High Priest associated him with the doorkeepers of Jerusalem, and he remained in service for thirty years.²⁸ He prayed as follows: "Let me not see the destruction of Jerusalem." After the thirty-fifth²⁹ year had gone by he went to draw water. He drew water and covered it with a fig leaf. A deep sleep overcame him and so he slept. Then God raised up Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon,³⁰ at the time of

Manasseh, the king of Judah.³¹ He captured Jerusalem and destroyed all its monuments, led away its priests and prophets, captured Zion,³² took the precious stone that Solomon had made for it, and took captive its men and animals.

A great angel named Sutu'el³³ appeared. He exalted Baruch heavenward and let him see all the hidden and manifest things. He brought him into the Heavenly Jerusalem,³⁴ and let him see established and high thrones, decorated places, shining crowns of various appearances, and white robes of various shapes.

I, Baruch, asked the angel who conducted me, and said to him: "Whose is this dwelling?" He answered and said to me: "It belongs to the martyrs³⁵ who have despised and hated this ephemeral world, who have delivered themselves up to death for the sake of justice and [eternal] life, to those whose heads were cut and whose blood was shed."

Then he showed me the aspect of the Heavenly Jerusalem. I said to him: "(Was it made) before or after the creation?" He said to me: "Before the creation of Adam.³⁶ The names of all the just, from Adam up to the end of the world, are written on this golden column."³⁷

Then he brought me into the middle (where the) column (was) and there I saw high and shiny seats, and robes whiter than milk, the sun, the moon, and the stars.³⁸ The place was full of fruit. I asked the angel who conducted me and said to him: "Who enters through this gate?" He who guided me answered and said to me: "Blessed are those who enter through this gate.³⁹ (Here) the husband remains with his wife⁴⁰ and the wife remains with her husband."⁴¹

Then he showed me a golden bed, a couch⁴² of precious stones, garments, and purses. I said to my guide: "[Are they for] those who remained in their virginity from their youth?" He said to me: "Yes, [for] those who guarded their virginity from their youth."⁴³

Then he took me to a great city and brought me into this city. There I saw many plants, numbering four thousand and seven, full of fruit. I said to my guide: "Who are those who enter into

this house?" He answered and said to me: "Those who despised and hated the ephemeral world will enter through this gate⁴⁴ that Adam built of old in this city.⁴⁵ Many will hope for it, but few will enter through it."

Then he brought me to a stream of oil.⁴⁶ I said to my guide: "Who will enter through this gate?" "Those who despised and hated this ephemeral world from their youth until the end of their lives; those who, having taken the pure monastical garment, were continent⁴⁷ and of pure flesh and spirit."⁴⁸

Then he brought me across this stream of oil and showed me a stream of milk, greater than the sea and the deep waters. I asked my guide and said to him: "Who will enter into this stream of milk?" He answered and said to me: "This stream is for the children who were chosen while still in their mothers' wombs,⁴⁹ and for all who were killed by iniquity, too. They will dwell in the end of days in the shadow of this stream of milk, together with their children. It is not for the children alone but also for the hermits, who were chosen in their mothers' wombs for the Heavenly Kingdom and did not mate with women from the day they put on the monastical cloth of chastity."⁵⁰

Then he brought me to a city which was white and shining, decorated with gold, hyacinth, and pearls, filled with fruit and plantations of almonds, nuts,⁵¹ and pomegranates.⁵² And I asked my guide: "Who are those who will enter into this city?" He said to me: "The kings and governors who observed justice; who did regard no man, rich or poor, small or big; ⁵³ those who loved the orphans, priests, and temples; and those who dressed them as well as the widows⁵⁴ in fine raiment; those who loved justice and gave alms to the poor and indigent; those who fed the hungry and gave to the thirsty to drink. This then is the dwelling of the kings and governors."

Then he brought me to a place facing this one, and the city I saw was brighter than the sun, the moon, and the stars ten million times over, decorated with pearls and filled with fruit and plants. I said to my guide: "Whose is this beautiful residence?" He answered and said to me "Blessed is the man who

will enter into this residence. It is for the mighty of the earth who killed no one, who were given not to idolatry,⁵⁵ who confounded not one soul with another [?], who practiced neither magic nor sorcery.⁵⁶ This then is their residence.”

Then he took me opposite this place on a golden ship⁵⁷ and brought me to the place of the City of God,⁵⁸ and showed me all the kingdoms of glory that do not pass away but grow and are glorified a million times. I said to my guide. “What is the name of this city?” He said to me. “The City of God.” I said to him: “Who will enter into this city?” My guide said to me. “The meek⁵⁹ who kept no vengeance in their hearts, who made peace with their neighbors, who did not repay evil⁶⁰ to the villain who had done them evil, who blessed those who cursed them, who shared their bread with the hungry, their cup with the thirsty, their clothes with the naked,⁶¹ who redeemed the captives with their wealth and lent of their gold to the poor. This is their residence.”

He took me away⁶² from this gate and brought me to another city named 'Aqrābā, which means the “Land of the Living.”⁶³ There I saw Enoch and Elijah writing down the deeds of the just of the earth.⁶⁴

In the days of this man⁶⁵ the Holy Spirit will descend without cloud like rain for seven days⁶⁶ (and will be) like oil.⁶⁷ Without it man will not be purified from his sins and the drops of God's mercy will not be spread over the earth. In those days peace will reign and there will be no hatred, no agitation, and no robbery, but love, joy, offerings, and rejoicing. If someone asks [?] but wood from his neighbor, he willingly will lend or give him all his wealth. In those days the fear of God will abound and the many churches⁶⁸ that have previously been destroyed in the world will be rebuilt. Everything will be accomplished on the order of the king. Believers will abound and belief will be strong. In those days the priests will walk according to the prescribed laws and the ordinances of justice as did Melchizedek,⁶⁹ Moses, and Aaron, the holy priests. Like them⁷⁰ they will please God during their lifetimes. In those days love will abound as well as peace, joy, exultation, and knowledge of the Lord. In those days

there will be no sorrow or distress, no hunger or thirst, no murder or controversy. In those days people will have one feeling and one thought, and they will walk in the straight path of grace.

[Then I saw] a stream of honey, that flowed like the water of the sea. I asked my guide: "Who will enter into this stream?" He answered me: "The blessed prophets who prophesied of the good that would come at the end."⁷¹

Then he showed me, opposite that stream of honey, a stream of wine (that was) like a torrent of sea water. I asked my guide: "Who will enter into this stream?" He said to me: "Those who despised the world, who were given to hospitality,⁷² and who loved their neighbors as themselves."⁷³

Then the angel took me to the east and showed me a golden column on which was engraved an inscription in a thin writing (brighter) than the sun, the moon, and the stars of the sky. I asked him: "What is this golden column⁷⁴ and what is this writing on it (that has) the likeness of the sun, the moon, and the shining stars?" He answered me. "The names of the just are written for eternal life on this golden column, where they wax not old or corrupt."⁷⁵ I said to him:⁷⁶ "Are the names alone engraved upon it; are not the features of the face engraved upon it, too?" He answered and said: "All the features of the faces of the just are engraved for [eternal] life⁷⁷ on this golden column, where they neither wax old nor become corrupt. They are engraved with a golden pen; the deeds of the sinners (are engraved) with an iron pen." I asked my guide: "Whose is this city?" He said to me: "The Land of the Living. Those in it are Enoch and Elijah, who write God's commandments, and who live there forever."

Then he took me to another area and I saw [at its] gates big trees full of fruit. Many hermits were scattered there, suffering from great hunger and thirst. A stream was also in this place. When they wished to eat from the tree it ascended to the sky, and when they rose in order to eat it descended to the earth. When they wished to drink from the stream it vanished and entered into the heart of the earth, and when they despaired of drinking the stream came out and reappeared to them.⁷⁸ Sorrowfully I asked the angel

who conducted me, and said to him: "Whose is this city and who are these men?" He answered and said to me: "This city belongs to the hermits. They were perfect in fasting, adoration, prayer, and purity of the body (but) they were boastful and haughty." I said to him: "Did their haughtiness prevent them from entering into the Heavenly Kingdom?" He said to me: "The root of sin is haughtiness and loftiness." ⁷⁹

Then he showed me a city a thousand thousand times brighter than the sun, the moon, and the stars, full of fruit (trees) yielding thousands of blessed fruits every hour. There were also shining raiment, crowns adorned and bright, golden belts, garments of precious stones, clothes, and shoes ⁸⁰ at the right and the left, branches of olive trees and branches of palm trees, the odor of which ravishes the heart and the taste of which makes the soul go forth from the body. Its beginning and end are not perceived. None knows it but God. Even the angels of God know it not, and the priests do not use it to burn incense. I asked him: "Whose is this residence?" He said to me: "It is the residence of the hermits." I said to him: "Will not all of them enter into ⁸¹ this dwelling?" He said: "No." I said to him: "Who, then, are those who will enter into this residence?" He said to me: "Those who did not mate with women after they retired from this world; ⁸² those who did not smite their neighbors with their slander; ⁸³ those who did not ride on mules; ⁸⁴ those who did not carry seats and sit on them; those who did not acquire gold and silver, the goods of this world, ⁸⁵ and who did not like them; those who despised and hated this world; those who did not love office; ⁸⁶ who did not lie on a bed or on a couch in this world; ⁸⁷ who did not claim to be eating, ⁸⁸ in fact, there is no joy for the hermits upon this earth, their pleasure (begins) when their soul leaves this world; those who did not like vain glory, who did not accept gold or silver or precious clothes from kings and princes, ⁸⁹ who did not set crowns upon their heads, and who did not take bribes to the disadvantage of the innocent. All these will enter into this residence." Having heard this I praised the Lord.

Then he took me to the west. There I saw a column of fire ⁹⁰

on which was writing by a pen of fire. The writing was thin and compact [and the column of fire] was greater than the column of gold I asked him "What is that written [on the column of] fire?" He said to me "The names of the sinners."

Opposite that column I saw virgins clothed in darkness,⁹¹ and [the guide] said to me: "These are mad virgins who were avaricious."⁹² I said to him: "Do they stay in this land of suffering because of their avarice?" He said to me: "Yes."

Then I saw a stream of fire, with many men seated upon thrones of fire. I asked him: "Who are those who undergo such punishment?" He said to me: "They are priests." I said to him: "Why are they punished so severely?" He said to me: "This is the punishment of priests and High Priests who introduced improper things into the temple and accepted bribes⁹³ for the priesthood."⁹⁴ I said to him: "As a matter of fact they introduced improper things⁹⁵ into the sanctuary for bribes: children of the divorced, stutterers, the dumb and the deaf, the blind, the broken-handed, and the leprous,⁹⁶ children of Kedar,⁹⁷ the rich but not the poor. Therefore these priests are punished."

Then he showed me a big sea of fire, by which many people were being swallowed. I said to him: "Who are these that are being punished so severely?" He said to me: "Priests and teachers."⁹⁸ I said to him: "Why are they punished?" He said to me: "Because they alone ate the firstlings⁹⁹ in the sanctuary; they alone ate the tithe of the sanctuary;¹⁰⁰ they ate the funeral [meal] of the poor and buried them not with honor; they walked not in the path of life; they taught not the glory of the Sabbath, saying, 'Honor (it), and introduce not into the dwellings donkeys, mules, oxen, sheep, goats, or even hens.' As for the teachers, they did not rebuke their children, neither sons nor daughters. Therefore will they be punished."

Then he showed me an abyss of fire, full of people who scoured burning charcoals with their hands and drew the streams of fire with their fingers. The streams of fire swallowed them entirely, so that none could recognize their mouths or lips. I said to him: "Who are these who are punished like this?" He said to me:

"Those who have lost their virginity in deserted places, without their parents giving them in marriage."¹⁰¹

I also saw an abyss and a big pit of fire, and people without number were in it. The fire devoured (some of them) up to their knees, others up to their breasts, others up to their necks, others up to their mouths, and still others entirely¹⁰² I said to him: "Who are these who undergo such severe punishment?" He said to me: "Those swallowed up to the knees uttered vehement words in the sanctuary. Those swallowed up to the reins fornicated with women in the house of God. Those swallowed up to their breasts slandered their neighbors in the sanctuary.¹⁰³ Those devoured up to their necks [spoke]¹⁰⁴ after their offering to God without cooling off the bread or the water. Those devoured entirely fornicated with man as with woman."¹⁰⁵

Then I saw an abyss and a pit of fire the depth of which was equal to eleven thousand and seven cubits.¹⁰⁶ I said to him: "Who are these who go down into this stream?" (He said): "Those who fornicated with a woman in childbed or with a woman in her uncleanness¹⁰⁷ or with an ignominious woman;¹⁰⁸ those who married the wife of one who died¹⁰⁹ or the wife of a brother;¹¹⁰ those who fornicated with a daughter or with a sister or with the daughter of a brother;¹¹¹ those who fornicated with domestic animals or with wild beasts.¹¹² This is their punishment."

Then I saw big rocks of fire, and there I saw many men scattered through the fire. I said to him: "Who are these who are punished in this abyss of fire and in these rocks of fire?" He said to me: "Those who worshiped stones. Therefore their punishment is by stones of fire."¹¹³

Then I saw big trees, all of fire. Many men were suspended from them, and serpents of fire and dogs of fire devoured them. I said to him: "Who are these who undergo this terrible punishment?" He said to me: "Priests, and widows¹¹⁴ who, being pregnant, drank medicines to kill the conceived being. The killed beings cried unto God saying: 'O Lord, O Lord, we might have been good or bad but they did not let us¹¹⁵ grow; some of us were eaten by dogs, others by beasts.'¹¹⁶ God ordered that the children

be given to Tēmlēyākos; ¹¹⁷ as for their parents, they undergo this punishment.”

Then I saw a big caldron of fire in which there were many of the mighty kings, governors, and princes.¹¹⁸ I said to him: “Who are these who are punished like this?” He said to me: “The mighty kings, governors, and princes, who ate of the offerings and laid waste the sanctuary,¹¹⁹ who robbed the dwellings of the priests and laid desolate the land,¹²⁰ who loved not ¹²¹ the orphans ¹²² and gave not ¹²³ alms from what God had given them. Woe unto you who spoil the world! Woe unto you who eat of the offerings! Woe, for your punishment will be severe! Woe unto you who spoil with a razor God’s creatures! Woe unto you, kings and governors, who build sanctuaries to please the eye of man, but in your hearts you like not the priests and chanters! You are like a bee with no honey or a pitcher with no water.¹²⁴ Woe unto you, kings and governors, who do not save the oppressed and the poor. You foolish ones, do you think that you will enter the Heavenly Kingdom because of your great riches? ¹²⁵ All the glory of your house will not go down with you and your terrestrial kingdom will be forgotten, for the existence of this world is ephemeral. The world is ephemeral and its concupiscence as well. Everything is ephemeral and wears out like a garment,¹²⁶ and like linen clothes that you change and they are changed, for the existence of this world is ephemeral. Blessed are the kings who pleased God during their lifetimes. Blessed are the kings who loved the poor and the miserable. Blessed are those who made ¹²⁷ wisdom their mother. Blessed are the kings who gave all their wealth to the poor and miserable as ransom for their souls, knowing that the existence of this world is ephemeral, that gold and silver deteriorate and garments wear out. Woe unto you, kings, you who are creatures and yet exalt yourselves over other creatures. Woe unto you, kings and governors, you are dust; ¹²⁸ and why do you exalt yourselves over the dust? Woe unto you, kings and governors, you are clay; and why do you exalt yourselves over the clay? Woe unto you, kings and governors, who cut off the creatures of God with the razor and the sword; you can make neither white nor black even

a single hair of your head. Heard you not what Scripture¹²⁹ said: 'One man is more honorable than ninety-nine angels?'¹³⁰ Woe unto you, kings and governors, who rob the sanctuary and rebuke not your subordinates that they may not corrupt the world. If your governors corrupt the world and you rebuke them not, I shall require their blood of you, says God."

I, Baruch, saw horrible and great judgments, and each of them was terrifying. I saw great mountains of fire full of pitch [?] and sulphur, a terrifying caldron full of the great governors and princes engulfed in a sea of fire. I said to the angel Sutu'el who conducted me: "Who are these men who undergo this terrible punishment?" He said to me: "The wicked kings who corrupted the world¹³¹ and defiled the sanctuary."

Then I saw a large pit of fire full of princes and wealthy people,¹³² men and women. Serpents of fire were (suspended) on their garments and devoured them, vipers of fire stung them, dogs of fire bit and devoured them, angels of fire pierced them, rocks of fire fell upon them, and the pit of fire engulfed them up to their heads.¹³³ I asked the angel: "Who are these who are punished so severely?" He said to me: "These are the hermits who were supposed to despise this world¹³⁴ but despised it not and purified not their thoughts. They were like other men of the world, they had relations with women and married and forgot¹³⁵ God during their lifetimes. They resemble the dog that returns to his own vomit, or the sow that was washed and returns to the mire,¹³⁶ or Absalom who transgressed the commandments of his father.¹³⁷ They resemble¹³⁸ Lot's wife who became a pillar of salt.¹³⁹ All things are vain."

Then I saw many men whom they made to run on burning sand.¹⁴⁰ I said to him: "Who are these whose punishment is like this?" He said to me. "Deacons who did not promptly bring the offerings into the sanctuary."¹⁴¹

Then I saw people suspended by burning ropes, their feet upward and their heads downward.¹⁴² I said to him: "Who are these who are punished like this?" He said to me. "Priests who did not offer Sunday sacrifices to God at sunrise;¹⁴³ the rest

day of the temple comes from God. Therefore are they punished."

Then I saw people whom they made to touch fire and to whom they gave cups of fire to drink. I said to him: "Who are these who are punished like this?" He said to me: "Priests and deacons who did not offer sacrifices with a pure heart, those who, being bound by the priesthood, transgressed it. This is their punishment."

Then I saw men whose hands were cut off. I said to him: "Who are these maimed people?" He said to me: "Those who wrote [magic] texts and carved.¹⁴⁴ This is their punishment."

Then I saw people from whose mouths came fire and sulphur. I said to him: "Who are these who are punished like this?" He said to me: "The tailors¹⁴⁵ who sewed garments and kept for themselves even a small piece of thread."¹⁴⁶

Then I saw people brought¹⁴⁷ in with cords of fire and searing flame. All kinds of fruit and limpid water passed in front of them, but when they wished to drink the water fled from them.¹⁴⁸ I said to him: "Who are these who are punished like this?" He said to me: "Those who broke the fast and those who hastened to eat."¹⁴⁹

All this the angel Sutu'el showed to me.

Then I saw a terrible punishment, sealed with seven seals.¹⁵⁰ He said to me: "O Baruch, wilt thou be strong enough to see this terrible and frightful [punishment]?" I said to him: "Speak, O Lord." Then he commanded the angel of Gehenna and said: "Show the seal of Gehenna to Baruch, the beloved of God." And he opened the seal and, behold, a great torment called Gehenna appeared, and a great cold, and snow. From the time of the creation of Heaven and earth until the end of the world, the shining sun would be unable to heat it.¹⁵¹ Those who are thrown into it will no more be mentioned among the living,¹⁵² and those who enter into it will remain there. As the prophet David says: "Therefore the wicked will not rise from Hell and the sinners will not remain in the congregation of the righteous."¹⁵³ He also says: "Like the dust which the wind drives away from the surface of the earth."

Then I, Baruch, saw what he showed me: bad years, and numerous good years during which there will be love, corn, wheat,

honey, and milk.¹⁵⁴ The Holy Spirit will go down like the dew of the rain season; fast and prayer will please [God]. The husband will speak agreeably with his wife, the daughter-in-law with her mother-in-law, the monk¹⁵⁵ with his disciple, and the disciple with his teacher, the brother with his brother, the daughter with her mother, and the mother with her daughter, the father with his son, and the son with his father, the relative with his relatives, and the friend with his friends.¹⁵⁶

In the four-hundred-and-seventieth cycle, the six-thousandth year, and the fifth day, a queen¹⁵⁷ will reign and there will be great joy. Qoṣṭāntīnos¹⁵⁸ and Tēōdros,¹⁵⁹ the orthodox, will reign, and in their days there will be love and peace. They will build God's house which Diyoqlētyānos,¹⁶⁰ the heretic, destroyed. In their time five hundred and thirty years will be added to Gabra Masqal,¹⁶¹ the king of Aksum, because of his orthodoxy.¹⁶²

Then every year love will decrease.¹⁶³ Small foxes will rise; ¹⁶⁴ they will destroy the whole world and they will exalt the ark of God into the Heavenly Zion. Wheat will grow less and water will flow four times less.¹⁶⁵ Those who bring offerings, incense, and sacrifices to God's house will go up to Heaven. There will be good priests and bad priests. Those who minister in God's house will be the slothful, the foolish, the silly, and the scorners. At that time slothful teachers will be created. They will reduce everything to schemes. They will not be saved nor will they save their children. They will profane the Sabbath and violate the festivals.

In the twenty-fourth¹⁶⁶ year of mercy¹⁶⁷ the trees of the fields will rejoice, the mountains and hills will be joyful, as will creatures, man, and beast. Everything will go back to its first condition.¹⁶⁸

Then a righteous man will reign. Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.¹⁶⁹ Justice shall spring out in his days. He will reign thirty years in the five-hundred-and-forty-eighth cycle.

After that the false messiah¹⁷⁰ will come. He will say: "I am God,"¹⁷¹ and will perform numerous signs and wonders. He shall cause the sun to rise in the west and the moon toward 'Ēlām; ¹⁷² his right eye will be blended with blood, his right foot will be thin;

the nails of his hands will be distorted and those of his hands and feet will be like scythes; his right [hand] will be for extermination¹⁷³ and his left [hand] for death.¹⁷⁴ He will reign seven years.

Then God will cause the false messiah to cease. The lion¹⁷⁵ will then reign seven years or sixty-seven in the count of the cycles. He will summon a council of priests, monks, believers, and numerous armies. He will say to the Cross:¹⁷⁶ "Take away all this," and the Cross will take it and ascend to Heaven.¹⁷⁷ All of them will weep bitterly and will die; the king will die with them. Michael and Gabriel will come with their armies¹⁷⁸ and will take them into the garden of joy. Then the demon Qolēyon¹⁷⁹ will come with thirty thousand and seventy-seven others and will reign. They will eat rocks like reeds, will swallow fire, and will drink the blood of women in their impurity. They will reign seven years.

Then the eagle¹⁸⁰ will reign and will reside in Jerusalem. He will devour ten thousand girls each evening, and ten thousand each morning. He will reign seven years.

Then the winds¹⁸¹ will reign. They will destroy God's houses and will unearth the bones of men. They will reign seven years.

The holy Michael will blow the horn for thirty years, and all the bones will assemble.¹⁸² Then he will sound the trumpet for the second time for thirty years. The bones will be sewn up again with flesh and all the bodies will assemble. The holy Michael, the archangel, will blow the trumpet for the third time for thirty years, and all the dead will be resurrected in the twinkling of an eye. The glory of some of them will be greater than the sun, others will stand up in honor, still others in misery. Then the King of Heaven and Earth will come and will reward all men according to their deeds. Praise and glory be to Him forever. Amen.

If I, Baruch, were to tell you everything I saw and heard all the books would not contain it. The Spirit of God dictated it to Absalom and Abimelech,¹⁸³ the priests of Jerusalem. He gave it to King Masfēyānos,¹⁸⁴ who fears the Lord. Glory to God forever. Amen.

APOCALYPSE OF GORGORIOS

Synopsis

ACCORDING to the tradition of the Falashas, Gorgorios was a native of Jerusalem. After his marriage he was separated from his wife and went to the desert where he lived an ascetic life. After a time his wife found him in the desert and brought him food. They agreed between them that his wife would approach his cavern only when the light that he kept burning there disappeared. One day the light was extinguished and they found him dead. He had written on the rock of the cavern: "I am Gorgorios." ¹

According to another tradition Gorgorios was the founder of an order of ascetics of the region of Wolqat in the fourteenth century.²

The apocalypse attributed to Gorgorios is greatly honored by the Falashas. The contents of this work are the following. Gorgorios in a dream ³ makes a long journey, guided by the angel Michael. After an initial saying of praise we find an ascription of authorship "to the prophet Gorgorios." Presumably prophet is used here in the sense of revealer of apocalyptic mysteries. It seems likely that the title was given to him by later generations. Gorgorios is made to speak in the first person. He addresses a request to the angel Michael for enlightenment on the mystery of death and the manner of the soul's leaving the body. The angel teaches him that while death is bitter to all men there is a vast difference between the desolate situation in which the sinner finds himself and the blissful reception given to the soul of the righteous (81, 3-82, 7). The angel (who seemingly has borne Gorgorios aloft) bids him look down on the earth where he sees a host of radiant angels and an old, good man, whose bright soul is received with rejoicing by them. Gorgorios is brought into the presence of God who gives this soul a place with the hermits, a group enjoying a special reward in Heaven (82, 8-29). The angel thereupon again bids

Gorgorios look and he sees smoke and sulphur rising from the earth and a host of disfigured spirits assembled. He is told that they are angels of calamity and wrath sent to take away the soul of a bad king. The angels (it is not clear whether the same angels of calamity are the actors from here on) are not permitted to bring this soul to Heaven. A celestial voice bids the soul confess her sins, and this is done, with subsequent reproof by the angels. An appeal to God's grace is denied. His voice is heard commanding that this soul be brought to other transgressors. A chorus of angels praises God's holiness and justice (82, 30-83, 35).

Michael now takes Gorgorios to the Paradise where Adam and Eve once lived and tells him that it is for those who observe the law of God (83, 36-84, 25). He guides him to the temple that contains "the tabernacle built in Paradise of old." In it is a white sea pearl which could illuminate the ends of the earth if one were to throw open the interior of this Zion. There are four angels there, praising the God who dwells in the tabernacle. The ark is there, and images of changing colors appear. Gorgorios falls to the ground weeping. He explains that he is moved by God's goodness toward foolish mankind (84, 26-85, 17). The angel now announces a still greater marvel. Amid the sound of singing, bright light, and delicious fragrance Gorgorios turns back and beholds a woman dressed in purple, too dazzling to look at. He marvels and flees and knows not where he is. When his mind is restored he asks the angel about what he has seen and is told that this is the Heavenly Jerusalem. A Roman inscription written on the door of the tabernacle of the sanctuary informs him that it is for those who despised the world (85, 18-35).

Michael then shows him the punishments of Hell. He takes him to a high mountain and bids him look to his right. There is a deep river of pitch in which men are floating head downward. They are those who denied God and returned to sin. In a second great river on the right flowing with pitch and asphalt men's bodies are being burned and reclothed with flesh to be burned anew. They are those who honored not the Holy Name and

despised refuge in it. Certain black men pour out pails of fire on bad kings and other oppressors (85, 36-86, 23).

Gorgorios is now bidden to look backward. Here he sees a great darkness out of which come cries and shouts. The angel commands it to reveal itself. The darkness unveils itself and Gorgorios sees in it men undergoing a variety of punishments for a variety of causes: those who bore false witness, who afflicted the houses of the poor and of the strangers with cold, those who foreswore the name of God, who believed in man and abandoned God's law, who stole the belongings of others, who judged in iniquity and took bribes, who were zealous for other deities, who practiced divination and led men to superstition, who killed the just and shed innocent blood, who fornicated, committed adultery, or surrendered to lust. Overcome by the sight of all these punishments Gorgorios weeps, falls on his face, and utters a lament over mankind (86, 24-88, 11). The angel now takes him back to earth and interprets to him in very brief and general terms the practical import of what he has seen (88, 12-17).

At this point what Gorgorios said of his experience is reported. He finds himself alone in his hermit's cave on his couch. Sad over what he has seen, he writes down the spiritual story and sends it to all countries that it may be of use to those who accept knowledge. He glorifies and praises God (88, 18-29). Here are appended further prayers and praises including a prayer of the angels (88, 30-89, 16).

Surprisingly enough two further speeches of the angel to Gorgorios now follow. He is bidden to inform all the foolish of what has been revealed to him—an element that we would expect to have been introduced prior to his awakening. But some valuable thoughts about repentance and the lack of it are added (89, 17-90, 6).

Rather abruptly there is appended a preaching of Gorgorios (presumably in obedience to the statement of the angel in 89, 17). It stresses the idea of *memento mori*, walking in the straight path, avoidance of idolatry and perjury, keeping the Sabbath,

and concludes with the remembrances of the Sinaitic revelation, especially of the Decalogue (90, 7-91, 25).

Sources and Age

1. The theme of the main part, the description of Paradise and Hell with their rewards and punishments, is the same as in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch but with more colorful details.⁴ As for the composition of the apocalypse, there are far more indications than in Baruch that it is to be traced back to the Apocalypse of Paul.⁵ It is like Paul in that Gorgorios first witnesses the departure of the souls of the righteous and wicked and then sees Paradise and Hell in all their particulars.

In general the Apocalypse of Gorgorios seems dependent on two other Falasha writings: the Book of the Angels⁶ and the Apocalypse of Baruch.

2. The Christian elements of the materials underlying it have been largely eliminated from the Apocalypse of Gorgorios. The mention of the sinners who believe in man⁷ does not reflect the belief in Christ as suggested by Halévy.⁸ The name Gorgorios, however, might suggest a Christian origin.⁹ In fact, a Gorgorios "who saw the hidden things" is mentioned in an enumeration of the miracles of the Virgin Mary.¹⁰ But up to now no Christian-Ethiopic Apocalypse of Gorgorios has been discovered.

Again we must distinguish carefully between the ages of the materials, i.e., the hypothetical Christian Gorgorios and the Falasha work. Since the Apocalypse of Paul is held to have already existed in the third century but to have taken its present Greek form in the fourth century, considerable antiquity may be claimed for some of the materials. Gorgorios may well have been substituted for some more famous figure of biblical times in the course of the evolution of this work. The thought that he was a fourteenth-century monk sounds reasonable enough, and since the Christian Middle Ages, as already observed in a previous connection, were so greatly interested in the theme of Heaven and Hell, the origin of the Christian apocalypse in that century would seem attractive.

The Falashas could have taken it over and adapted it to their use soon after it became known.

Texts and Bibliography

The text which follows is a translation of the d'Abbadie MS, 21, fol. 39^o-51 (designated in the notes as A) ¹¹ which offers a good text. The corrections made on the basis of the d'Abbadie MS, 107, fol. 11v^o-20r^o (designated as B) ¹² and of the text published by Halévy (designated as H) are indicated in the footnotes.

J. Halévy, *Té'ezāza Sanbat*, French synopsis, pp. xxvii-xxx; Ethiopic text, pp. 97-107; French translation, pp. 210-219. The Ethiopic text of Halévy is very corrupt; it gives the impression that the manuscript leaves have been confused so that the text has gotten jumbled.

A. Z. Aescoli, *Hafalašim*, Hebrew analysis and synopsis, pp. 101-103; Hebrew translation of a fragment, pp. 130-131.

Translation

Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel.

[This is the book] of the prophet Gorgorios.

I said to the angel Michael: "Tell me about death and how [the soul] ¹³ goes forth from the body." He said to me: "I shall tell thee how the soul leaves the body," ¹⁴ and he said to me: "Death is bitter and painful to the righteous and the sinners as well, but for the man of good deeds it is salvation and rest when soul and body are separated.¹⁵ The bitterness ¹⁶ of death is bearable for him because he sees gathered around him the beautiful angels whose faces are fair and full of mercies; they wear bright crowns ¹⁷ and they receive the soul with praise and song. They bless the angel who stayed with him, drive away from him the unclean spirits, and raise his soul to Heaven with blessings, praise, and song." ¹⁸

"The death of the sinner is desolate. His departure from this ephemeral world is as follows: the angels of calamity ¹⁹ who have

no mercy, the ill-favored, disfigured,²⁰ are sent to him. The soul of the sinner is entrusted to them in a terrible punishment. Then the evil spirits who were with him and devoured him come to him. When the man sees them he will repent that he did not accomplish²¹ good deeds in his lifetime. More punishment is inflicted upon him, and they raise his²² soul to Heaven in great pain and sore calamity and smite it with sticks of fire."

The angel said to me: "Look down upon the earth." Behold, I saw thousands and thousands of radiant angels, well favored, (dressed) in ornamented garments, who praised and sanctified [God] saying: "Praise, glory, and greatness are proper for Thee, for Thou art the grace of the righteous, the crown of the pure, the greatness of the humble, and the strength of the weak."

Then I saw an old good man who had died, and the angels raised his soul aloft. This soul was as bright as the sun. The angels received it and said joyfully: "O soul, thine affliction passed away because of God's word, and thou wilt find mercy at His side forever." After they had raised this soul to Heaven, all the angels shouted and said. "Praise to God alone, the Holy." And they said to this soul: "Peace and felicity to thee, forever," and they blessed the angel who was with her. Then I heard God's voice saying: "Bring this soul that she may rejoice [and receive]²³ the fruit of her deeds and find her reward." The soul then prostrated herself with fear. The angel said to her: "Fear not, O soul, for thou hast accomplished good deeds before they raised thee. It will be reckoned to thee as righteousness [and thou shalt receive] the treasures of grace full of joy and gladness." I also heard God saying "Place this soul with the (souls of the) hermits who are secluded and live on the mountains and hills serving God."²⁴

Then the angel said to me: "Look." And behold, I saw smoke²⁵ and sulphur²⁶ rising from the earth to Heaven, thousands and thousands of spirits disfigured,²⁷ angels with dark faces²⁸ from whose mouths burning charcoal came forth²⁹ and who held sticks of fire in their hands. I saw it and was frightened and said to the angel: "What is this terrifying sight?" He said to me: "(It is for) a bad king who abandoned justice and was iniquitous."³⁰

And the order came from God to take his soul by force at the hand of bitter Death. And these, the angels of calamity and of wrath, were sent to him." Then I saw a dark one whose odor was bad and whose teeth and nails were of fire.³¹ As for the soul, she shouted and lamented: "Pity me, pity me." When she shouted they poured upon her burning charcoal from Heaven. When she drew nigh a sheet of fire like a wave of the sea came and hit her³² and brought her down to earth. Then the angels said: "Let us take her away." And I saw the angels and the spirits raise her as before, and they brought her to Heaven and said: "Bring not in this soul. She is unclean, since she was rebellious against her Creator and chose the earthly kingdom in vain rather than the Heavenly Kingdom and followed the commandments of Satan." Then a voice came from Heaven saying: "Say to this unclean and bad soul that she confess her faults and the sins she has committed."³³ The soul answered, trembling: "I did things in my kingdom which were not proper, without thinking of the future³⁴ or of the judgment that will overcome me." The angels said: "Woe unto thee, O soul! Didst thou not hear the words of the prophets and the commandments of God? Didst thou not read the words of the Scriptures? Didst thou not see the wonders of God upon the earth and His marvels in this world?" The soul answered and said: "I have confidence, O Lord, in Thy grace." The angels said to her "When thou didst walk³⁵ upon the earth we were gracious to thee there. Hadst thou made thy ways and doings good, thou wouldst have inherited the Heavenly Kingdom,³⁶ but now thou wilt be rewarded according to thine actions." Then I heard the voice of God saying: "Bring this soul to the rebellious, iniquitous, transgressors, and unclean so that she be there in her punishment until the day of retribution."

Behold, the angels shouted in a loud voice saying: "Holy, Holy, Holy, God of Šabā'ot, perfect in His deeds, the merciful and gracious, who exalts the humble and destroys the strong. Thou alone art the King of justice, the Lord of the law, and the Judge of judges."

Then the angel Michael said to me: "I have shown thee the

departure of the souls of the sinners and of the just. And now follow me and I shall let thee see the place where the good and pure live." Then he held my hand and brought me into a wide place, the charm of which ³⁷ was like a precious pearl of various colors that shines like bright stars ³⁸ and like lamps that ravish the eyes. There were ³⁹ in it thousands of doors of sapphire brighter than the sun. The floor ⁴⁰ of this place was white as silver and as mirrors.⁴¹ Behold, a large stream and small springs flowing with light, and the stones ⁴² of this stream were precious pearls, topazes, carbuncles, hyacinths, and emeralds. And around ⁴³ this stream were tall and short trees. It seemed a valley. Among all the trees there was not a dry ⁴⁴ one nor a fallen-down leaf nor a spoiled fruit.⁴⁵ The odor of these trees was sweeter than all the odors upon the earth. When the dead in the graves smell this odor they will wake up and live. That place had no sun nor moon (but its light) exceeded the light of the sun, and the darkness of the night came not near it and found it not.⁴⁶ Then I marveled, praised and blessed God. The angel said to me: "Marvel not, O Gorgorios. This is the Paradise in which Adam and Eve lived; in it there is neither odor nor cold nor sadness. If they had not transgressed the commandment of God they would have remained in it, they and their children, without affliction, sorrow, sickness, death, sin, or iniquity. God knew in advance what would happen." I said to Michael: "Who lives in this place?" He said to me: "Those who observe the law of God will stay here."

Then Michael said to me: "Follow me and I shall let thee see the temple ⁴⁷ containing the tabernacle built in Paradise of old ⁴⁸ in the name of the Holy God." I followed him and I saw the Temple of the Most High that preserved its length and width and was built of green emerald, the light of which shone in Paradise. And behold, columns and vaults, topazes,⁴⁹ red hyacinths, and gold, and images of sky color adorned with precious pearls. The silent ⁵⁰ angels praised God and said: "Praise to the most high God who is above." And all the creatures of Heaven and earth were frightened.

There was in it a white sea pearl which shone brightly, and

if one opened the interior of this Şeyon ⁵¹ it would illuminate ⁵² the ends of the earth. Its light was brighter than the light of the sky. It was made of a shiny pearl and of pure gold, and the crown on its top was made of a green pearl like an emerald, adorned with three white pieces of silver ⁵³ that shone with so brilliant a light that no eye could look at it.

Behold (there were present) four angels adorned like a rose-colored pearl and like a pearl of sky color set in pure gold tried in the fire.⁵⁴ A voice came out ⁵⁵ of their mouths saying: "Holy is the King who dwells in the residence of the Holy." And the wood of the ark was like a white pearl, and nothing was like it in length and width. Images appeared whose colors vied with each other; they appeared first red, then green, then sky color, lily color, and other colors. Then I marveled,⁵⁶ I fell on my face, and cried. The angel said to me: "What makes thee cry?" I said: "Because of the marvels God did to the sons of men; they are foolish but God maintains them."⁵⁷

The angel said to Gorgorios: "Now thou wilt see something that is greater than anything that is on earth and in Heaven. (They are) those who serve God with a pure heart. Who can know God?" I perceived a sound of songs and melodies that rejoiced the heart, praise, hymns, and a light that appeared like lightning, and a fragrance that revived the dead. Then I turned back and behold (there was) a woman dressed in purple and no eye could look at her because of her splendor. I marveled, praised God, then fled and knew not ⁵⁸ where I was. And when my mind was restored I said to the angel: "What is this marvel?" And he said to me: "This is the Heavenly Jerusalem."⁵⁹ I said to the angel: "For whom is it prepared?"⁶⁰ He said to me "Read what is written on the door of the tabernacle of the sanctuary." And behold, I saw a Roman inscription written in various lights that said. "This is the Heavenly Jerusalem for the one who gave himself for God's word, for those who despised the glory of the ephemeral world, for those who retired to the hills and caverns, and for the hermits who served God."⁶¹

Then Michael said to me: "Now come and follow me and I

shall show thee the punishment of Hell for the men who denied God, for the rebellious, the evil, and disobedient who did bad deeds before God." The angel took me and placed me on the top of a high mountain and said to me: "Turn back and look to thy right." And behold, I saw a big deep river flowing with pitch,⁶² dark as lead; burning charcoal came out of it, and it boiled ⁶³ like a pot; ⁶⁴ it was fetid. It flowed like the river of Egypt.⁶⁵ Men were in it, suspended by their feet, and their heads were turned downward.⁶⁶ They trembled and fainted. Then I wept and wailed; a great trembling and quaking fell upon me. I fell on my face and said to the angel: "Who are those, O Lord?" He said to me: "These are those who denied God and returned to sin. They will undergo this punishment that thou seest forever."

The angel then said to me: "Turn back and look to thy left." I turned and behold, a river as great as the preceding one flowing ⁶⁷ with pitch ⁶⁸ and asphalt. Waves ⁶⁹ of fire reaching the sky were in it; men were lying down in the fire that hit them. Their bodies withered away so that nothing but their bones remained; God again created flesh above them; the waves of fire came back and their bodies withered away as before.⁷⁰ Their wailing ⁷¹ was great. I said to the angel: "Who are those?" He said to me: "Those who honored not ⁷² His Holy Name and those who despised ⁷³ refuge in the name of God, the most high."

And I saw in this river black men standing up with pails ⁷⁴ of fire in their hands.⁷⁵ They drew it and poured it upon them ⁷⁶ [this is their punishment] ⁷⁷ forever. I said to the angel: "Who are those, O Lord?" He said to me: "These are the kings of the earth, the iniquitous and the oppressors."

Then the angel said to me: "Turn backward and look." And behold, I saw a great darkness,⁷⁸ and cries and shouts came out therefrom. And the angel said: "I say to thee, O darkness, I was sent ⁷⁹ to thee by God in order that I may show to Gorgorios everything that is inside of thee; unveil thyself and then shalt thou become as before." The darkness was unveiled and behold, the bottom in all its length and width appeared, and it was entirely inflamed with darkness and fire ⁸⁰ It was fetid. And men were in

it, each of whom underwent a particular punishment. Some of them burned, their tongues were split ⁸¹ and reached their ⁸² chest. I said to the angel "Who are those, O Lord?" He said to me: "Those who bore false witness against men."

Some of them were in a great cold worse than the fire and their ⁸³ teeth chattered; they trembled and wept bitterly.⁸⁴ I said to the angel: "Who are these, O Lord?" (He said to me:) "These are the mighty who afflicted the houses of the poor and the strangers with cold and frost."

Some of them were subjected to the fire and were burned. Scorpions, a span in length, bit their bodies.⁸⁵ I said to him: "Who are these?" He said to me: "Those who foreswore by the name of God."

Some of them stood on one foot; they wept bitterly and their ⁸⁶ teeth chattered. Water dropped upon water [and fire] upon fire. The angels came to them carrying pearls and rings of fire.⁸⁷ Their bodies were frightened. He said to me: "They are those who believed in man and abandoned Him ⁸⁸ and His law."

Some of them had their hands spread in the middle of the fire and vipers of fire bit them. [I said to him]: "Who are those, O Lord?" "Those who stole the belongings of others."

Some stood in fire up to their knees; ⁸⁹ they shouted and wailed, saying: "Woe unto us, we took ⁹⁰ and inherited the eternal punishment." I said to the angel: "Who are those, O Lord?" He said to me: "Those who judged in iniquity and took bribes."

Some knelt on their knees in the fire and the angels slapped their faces with burning charcoal.⁹¹ They wept bitterly. I said to him: "Who are these, O Lord?" He said to me: "Those who were zealous for divinities other than God."

Others were covered by waves of fire. I said: "Who are these, O Lord?" "They are those who were soothsayers, used divination, led (men) astray through idols, birds, and charms, and abandoned His law."⁹²

Others hung by their feet and their heads were downward.⁹³ Flames hit them from every side; serpents of fire ⁹⁴ with doglike heads bit them, angels struck them with swords of fire, dispersed

their bodies⁹⁵ and flaming charcoal fell upon them like hailstones. I said to him: "Who are those and what is their sin?"⁹⁶ He said to me: "Those who killed the just and shed innocent blood."

Other (angels) took flaming charcoal and threw it into their mouths from all sides.⁹⁷ [I said to him:] "Who are these, O Lord, and what is their sin?" "Those who fornicated with the body of their flesh,⁹⁸ who committed adultery, who lusted exceedingly. This is their eternal punishment."

Then I wept, fell upon my face, and said: "Woe unto the children of Adam."

Then the angel took me and said to me: "Now thou wilt see great things, in fact, everyone is rewarded according to his deeds as thou hast seen. He who dies without repentance⁹⁹ will not witness God's glory or His grace forever. He who fears Him will be freed from this bad world; he will leave it and will abide in the great abode of life that thou hast seen."

Gorgorios said: "Trembling overtook me, and I knew not where I was. And behold, I found myself alone in the cave on my couch. Then I praised and glorified God. I felt sad and great sorrow overcame me for I had perceived the places of the holy and I had seen¹⁰⁰ the great punishment of Hell prepared for the sons of men. Then I wrote down this spiritual story and sent it to all the countries so that it might be of use to all¹⁰¹ those who accept knowledge.¹⁰² God is gracious to those who do good deeds and who fear the day of reward and of the last judgment so that they may be¹⁰³ prepared for the Heavenly Kingdom. I, Gorgorios, glorify and praise the holy God, the only, the gracious and merciful Lord."

We pray and beseech him that he free us from bad deeds, that he help us to accomplish his will, and give us the heritage through grace and pity forever.

Prayer¹⁰⁴ of the angels! We praise God. Hallelujah Great praise and glory are proper for Thee, the most high, who dwells up on high, for Thou art the grace of the just, the crown of the pure, the greatness of the humble, and the strength of the weak.

Hallelujah to the only God. Holy, Holy, Holy. Thou art gracious and merciful. Thou magnifiest the humble and destroyest the strong. Thou alone art the King of justice and the Lord of the law. Praise to God, the most high, who dwells on high. All the creatures of Heaven and earth stand in awe of Him, the Holy, the King who sits upon the seat of the holy. He is blessed in the Heaven above, His name is pure and holy. Praise and glory to God.

Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel and of all the creatures of Heaven and earth. Hallelujah to God, the King. Praise to the holy, living, just, gracious, strong, glorified, and terrible who sits upon His throne for the eternal pleasure.

Praise to Him, and blessing¹⁰⁵ and wisdom and strength to our Lord. Hallelujah to God, to the King of praise, for Thou hast created everything, and all the creatures are extant by Thy will.¹⁰⁶

The angel said to me: "Thou seemest somewhat as a boat upon the sea."¹⁰⁷ As for me, I glorified and praised God. God revealed thee everything, life and death, in a hundred and twenty-three days and showed thee the residences of the just and of the sinners.¹⁰⁸ And now, go and inform all the foolish of thy sort, so that it may be of benefit to them and bring salvation to their souls, that they may understand and seek to do good before their souls and bodies separate, for there is no repentance after death.¹⁰⁹

"O Gorgorios, know and perceive that everyone who commits sins and transgressions, big or small,¹¹⁰ and then returns to God, lifts his eyes unto Him, and prays with a constant heart, I say and assert that all his sins, transgressions, and errors will be forgiven him and that he will find grace and pity from God forever. Those who believe not and return not to God and commit many sins and faults and then return to God and believe in Him will have their sins and errors forgiven.¹¹¹ But if they return then¹¹² to committing sins they will find a great punishment, for this sin is greater than the first one."

The angel said to me: "O Gorgorios, know that if a man or woman loves God with all his heart, with all his thoughts, and

with all his deeds and does then a little good, God will help him, save him from punishment, and guide his way, for he abstains not from the commandments of God but loves His commandments and His teachings in the ephemeral world. Love not iniquity. As for God, He is praised above all. Humility is accepted in order that it cast out the love of this world.”¹¹³

Gorgorios says thus “O brothers, come, let us give thanks to the Lord of Heaven and Earth. They will come in his city where there is fire and water and there is no escape. By doing justice only will (man) be saved.

“O brothers, be not slothful. O brothers, the days pass away while we say we shall return . . .¹¹⁴ The day of death draws nigh suddenly, like a flower of the valley.¹¹⁵ Let us thus, brothers, remember the day of our death. Death is bitter and comes¹¹⁶ suddenly (upon) the sinners like a robber. That day [everything] will be known and all men will stand before the Creator and will be rewarded according to their deeds. O soul, what wilt thou say if thou didst not [good] in this world, upon the earth?

“O brothers, deviate not¹¹⁷ to the right and walk not to the left. This world is a dream, believe not in it. Take the lamp of wisdom for your way so that you may share the heritage of the holy and the just in righteousness and in peace.”

He says:¹¹⁸ “I am God, the Lord, who brought you out of Egypt, the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other God save me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven gods of anything that is in the earth beneath and in the waters under the earth.

Thou shalt not bow before them nor serve them, for I, thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. And showing mercy unto thousands of generations that love me and keep my commandments.

Thou shalt not swear falsely by the name of God, thy Lord; for God will not hold him guiltless that so swears.

Keep the Sabbath day as God, thy Lord, commanded thee. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, thy God. In it thou shalt not do any

work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates. May thy manservant and maidservant rest as thou dost.

Remember that thou wert a slave in the land of Egypt and that God, thy Lord, brought thee out from there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm. Therefore God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day and to hallow it.

Honor thy father and thy mother, as God commanded thee; that it may go well with thee and that thy days may be prolonged upon the land which God, thy Lord, gave thee.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.¹¹⁹

Thou shalt not kill.

Thou shalt not steal.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his field, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor his cattle, nor anything that is his."

God spoke all these words with a great voice to your assembly on the mountain out of the fire, the obscurity of the tempest, and the thick darkness; and he added no more. And he inscribed them on two tables of stone and delivered them unto me.

And when I heard the voice out of the midst of the fire, for the mountain did burn with fire, you came near unto me, you and the envoys of your tribes and your elders.

THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM

Synopsis

THE introduction seems to indicate that the Testament of Abraham was joined with those of Isaac and Jacob. It gives the lunar dates of the deaths of the patriarchs, mentions the fact that Atnatēwos (Athanasius) composed this work, praises the patriarchs briefly, and invites people to listen to the story of their departure (96, 1-12). The storyteller narrates how God sent Michael to Abraham while he was working in the field. Abraham takes him home to his house but is filled with fear when he hears a voice out of a tamarisk tree saying, "Holy, Holy, Holy." On arriving at his house he bids Isaac bring water to wash the stranger's feet and tells him that he feels the end is near. He bids his servant slaughter various animals and cook meat (96, 12-97, 23). While the food is being prepared Michael makes a quick trip to Heaven and asks God to send Isaac a vision of Abraham's death, for he himself feels unable to inform Abraham of it after accepting his hospitality. Isaac then has a dream in which he sees a shining man come down from Heaven. The man takes the sun, which resembles his father Abraham, away while moon and stars weep. Isaac, too, weeps, but the shining one consoles him with the thought that Abraham is to be taken to a better estate. Isaac then goes through the door of the chamber and reports to Michael and Abraham what he has seen. Abraham accepts the divine decree but expresses the wish to be exalted to Heaven prior to his death to see the delights of the place. Michael offers to beseech God to allow him to conduct Abraham on such a tour, and on a swift visit to Heaven receives permission from God to do so (97, 24-98, 20). Returning, Michael takes Abraham heavenward on a cloud. Abraham now sees a wide and a strait gate and a man sitting between the gates, sometimes laughing but mostly weeping. The man turns out to be Adam and the gates are those referred to in Matt. 7: 13-14. Adam laughs when the souls pass through the

strait gate and weeps as the throngs pass through the wide gate (98, 21-36). Abraham watches the procession passing through the gate of destruction. Michael laments over the sinners and this leads Abraham to worry whether any but children under twelve will be able to enter through the strait gate. Michael reassures him as to his own fate and that of those who will follow him. He also tells him that every day 90,990 souls leave their bodies (99, 1-24). At this juncture a soul is brought to judgment. The judge (God) calls for the record, and an old man who comes forth from behind a curtain reads from a book the sins committed by the individual. The soul attempts to deny the allegations, but God has her cast into Gehenna. Abraham learns from Michael that the old man is Enoch. Thereupon Abraham and the angel return to earth (99, 25-100, 8).

Abraham now lies down to die, but first he gives all his slaves their freedom and provides a repast for the poor. God tells Michael not to permit Death to frighten his friend Abraham. This idea is not carried through, however; after he tells Death of Abraham's deeds and sends Death to him Michael is not mentioned again. We learn that Abraham is considerably frightened as Death comes near; after expressing his reactions to the mysterious visitor, he calls for his son Isaac with whom he has a parting conversation (100, 9-101, 12). Abraham returns to his chamber and couch and asks the mysterious visitor for his name. He reveals himself as Death, leaving Abraham wondering that his appearance is so beautiful. He is told that Death appears also in ugly form and that this beauty is only for him. Abraham desires to see Death as he really is and is told to send all his servants away for none can see Death and live. This leads to the question whether anyone can die before his time. Death answers that affirmatively; it occurs in divine visitations. Then Death and his son Abēlrēlyos, who carries the dead, go forth on their dread mission. The horrible self-revelation of Death follows. Eighteen of Abraham's servants die from fear and the others fall to the ground. Michael, however, raises the servants and bears away Abraham's soul on a chariot (101, 13-102, 24). The conclusion speaks of his burial, the mourning

for him, and of Isaac's goodness, and ends with a praise of God (102, 25-36).

Sources

1. The ancestral father Abraham is the most appealing figure in the portrait gallery of Israel's saints. The stories told about him in Genesis have been a source of delight to people through the ages, whether men read them in full realism, as did the Jewish people, or with a certain amount of allegory as did the Christians for whom, following Paul of Tarsus and the Epistle of the Hebrews, he is the father of believers.

When the apocalyptic movement arose among the Jews and it became customary to put predictions into the mouths of figures of the distant past, the thought of testaments of these figures proved most attractive. And so we have a considerable pseudo-epigraphic literature representative of that sort of thing, the most important surviving work being the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs which originated about 120 B.C. That Abraham, too, should be conceived of as having composed a testament is inevitable. No Hebrew version of such a testament survived, however; in fact, the old Jewish sources have little to say about the death of Abraham.¹ But Abraham's ascension and his death are minutely described in the Greek Testament of Abraham,² an apocryphal work which has been preserved in two recensions, a Longer and a Shorter.³ This work may have been written in the second century.⁴ It appears to have been translated into Slavonic,⁵ Rumanian,⁶ Coptic,⁷ Arabic,⁸ and Ethiopic. The Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions combine the Testament of Abraham with testaments of Isaac and Jacob.

The Arabic text of the Testament of Abraham has been translated from the Coptic, and the Ethiopic text is a translation from the Arabic. There are two versions of the Ethiopic text, a Christian-Ethiopic and a Falasha version. The Falasha version, called "Gadla Abraham," *The Life of Abraham*, by its editor C. Conti Rossini (see below, Text and Bibliography), is probably derived from the

Christian-Ethiopic text⁹ This text is more frequently referred to as Testament of Abraham and this title will, therefore, be kept here.

2. There is no doubt that Arabic was the source of the Ethiopic translation. The Ethiopic does not even omit the statement that Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, composed the work, as is stated in the Arabic text. And the very close correspondence between the two texts, as well as the words copied from Arabic, such as *'atal*, a transliteration of the Arabic *'atal*, "tamarisk," or misunderstood expressions such as *qirn*, "enemy," instead of *qarn*, "ray," is adequate proof of dependence. Apparently the Ethiopic text gives us the testament in abridged form.

3. The Falasha text is not completely purged of Christian elements. Thus God is called Father.

Character and Age

The text is very corrupt and many passages are obscure. This is probably due to the fact that the Falashas have a very imperfect knowledge of Geez. Had other manuscripts of this writing been available they would no doubt have helped elucidate many of the obscure passages. Conti Rossini¹⁰ suggests that in view of the special use to which this work was put certain passages might have been obscured so that only the initiated should understand them. The Testament of Abraham is read on the day commemorating Abraham's death (Tazkara Abraham),¹¹ the twenty-eighth day of Nahasē.¹² But it seems that it is also read at any and every commemoration ceremony (Tazkar). Conti Rossini's suggestion, interesting in itself, does not explain why the particular passages that are obscure were made so. It seems preferable, therefore, to suppose that we have accidental text corruptions.

As already pointed out, this work had a long history before it appeared in Ethiopic dress. Since the Ethiopic was translated from the Arabic and the Arabic from the Coptic, we have mirrored here the domination of the Abyssinian church by the Coptic church on the one hand, and on the other the ascendancy of the

Arabic language within the Coptic church. It seems quite likely therefore that the apocalypse was translated into Ethiopic in the literary movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹³ The subject matter made it of such interest to Jews that its adoption and adaptation by the Falashas soon after it was translated would be quite comprehensible.

Text and Bibliography

Our English text is a translation of the Ethiopic text published by C. Conti Rossini, "Nuovi appunti Falascia," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (1922), Ser. 5, 31, 227-240. The text is based on d'Abbadie MS, 107, fol. 20v^o-26r^o of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (see Conti Rossini, *Notice*, p. 217).

A. Z. Aescoli, *Hafalašim*, abridged Hebrew translation, pp. 97-101.

Translation

The lives and martyrdoms of the holy fathers: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Abraham departed from this world on the twenty-eighth of Nahasē, Isaac too on the twenty-eighth of Nahasē, and Jacob likewise.

The holy 'Atnātēwos,¹⁴ the patriarch of Alexandria, the servant of the only God, composed it from what he had found in the Treasury of Knowledge.¹⁵

The holy and sincere patriarchs walked in the peace of God who is true.

Listen to and understand what we shall instruct you; hearken in silence and comprehend, O people of the fathers! I shall instruct you concerning the going forth and departure of the holy fathers.

[When the days of our father Abraham drew nigh, God sent Michael, the chief of the holy angels, to instruct him concerning his going forth from his body. Abraham was in the field. Michael appeared and said to him. "God is thy helper, O great Abraham!"

Our father Abraham answered Michael and said: "God is thy helper. Whence hast thou come, and where art thou going? Thou walkest in the desert alone, be careful lest thou encounter wild beasts in this desert." Then Abraham said to his servant Eleazer: "Hurry and bring an animal to carry this stranger, since he is tired of walking." Michael said to Abraham: "Send for no animal, we shall walk in company." They departed together.]¹⁶ When they arrived at a grove [they saw] a tamarisk¹⁷ with three branches,¹⁸ and they heard a voice coming out of the branches like the sound of the wind, saying thrice: "Holy, Holy, Holy." The sound was a message for Abraham, and having heard it he hastened homeward in great fear.

When they arrived at the city they entered Abraham's house. Abraham said to his son Isaac: "Hurry, bring a vessel with water to wash the feet of this stranger who has come to us, because my heart tells me that this is the end."¹⁹ Isaac said to him: "What is this hidden thing, how dost thou know that this is the end?"²⁰ Abraham said: "O Isaac, I know what will happen to us. Ever since this man came to me, my heart within me was withdrawn and is fled." Then Abraham said to his servant: "Hurry and bring me all the domestic animals: goats, she-goats, and sheep. Bring three of each, slaughter them, and cook them, so that I may rejoice with the stranger who has come."

[While the food was being prepared Michael secretly went up to Heaven and begged God to send to Isaac a vision of Abraham's death. After Abraham's hospitality Michael could not bear to reveal it to him. God consented . . . At midnight Isaac awoke . . . and bidden to relate his dream, he said: "I saw the sun, moon, and stars over my head, giving me light. A shining man came down from Heaven. He took the sun. The moon wept and besought him to leave it.]²¹ The stars also wept, and the sun said to the shining man: 'If thou must take me, wait until I collect my rays²² and leave them not behind me.' Then, O my sister Rebekah, I beheld on my right hand the sun, resembling my father Abraham; the moon, resembling my mother Sarah; and the stars,²³ resembling [the servants].²⁴ All wept, and I wept with

them, because they wanted to take away my father Abraham. The shining man ²⁵ said: 'Cry not, Isaac, over thy father Abraham, since they desire to bring him from straitness into enlargement, from poverty into wealth, from slavery into freedom.' When I saw this I went trembling through the door of the chamber, and my heart was withdrawn from within me.²⁶ Behold, I have told you what I have seen. The archangel Michael [said to me]: 'Tell me what hast thou seen, my son?' ²⁷ I knew then that Abraham was to leave the body." They all wept. Abraham said to Michael "If the decision pleases God, it pleases me, too. But I shall ask God, my Lord, as a consolation, to exalt me to Heaven so that I may see its delights before my going forth from the body." Michael said to him: "This cannot be done, but I shall beseech [God] on thy behalf, and if He grants me the permission I shall exalt thee with joy and gladness." ²⁸ Then Michael left the house of Abraham, went up to Heaven, and besought the Father ²⁹ on his behalf that He command him to exalt Abraham. And the preacher [?],³⁰ the archangel said: "O Michael, listen to everything Abraham will tell thee, exalt his body into Heaven, and show him everything he wants to see. Be gracious to him because he is my friend." ³¹

The archangel Michael went out from the presence of God and together with Abraham mounted a cloud³² which carried them toward the ocean ³³ and exalted them to Heaven with great praise. "I,³⁴ Abraham, saw in that place a wide and a strait gate, and I saw a man. He was a prophet, dressed in clean clothes, at one time weeping and at another laughing. His weeping was more than his laughing thirteen times over.³⁵ I said to Michael: 'What are these two gates, the wide and the strait?' Michael said to me: 'The strait gate leads to the path of life [and the wide gate leads to death and destruction],³⁶ and the man that sits between these gates is Adam, the first man. God has left him here to see all the souls which depart from their bodies as they pass by him. Dost thou not see that his weeping exceeds his laughing because he sees the souls [which go forth] from their bodies ³⁷ as they pass by him? Those whom he brings in through the gate of destruction are many thousands, whereas few are those who enter through

the strait gate into life.' ³⁸ After this I looked upon many myriads of souls that, according to the number of their sins, were followed by their angels and entered at the gate of destruction. Michael said to me: '[Woe] ³⁹ to the sinners who could not go forth [from their bodies and enter] into the life of God.' I, Abraham, answered him and said: 'I, too, am a man who dwells in a heavy body. Will no one be able to enter through the strait gate except small children of the age of twelve years—those who are forced out of their sins?' ⁴⁰ Michael, the chief of the angels, the holy Michael, said to me: 'Fear not, O Abraham. Thou and those who come after thee and those who adhere to thine actions will enter into life.' I said to the angel Michael: 'Will they bring to perdition all the souls which depart from their bodies?' Michael, the archangel, said to me: 'Fear not, O Abraham, thou and those who will come after thee and will associate in thy deeds will enter into life.' ⁴¹

Abraham asked the holy angel Michael: "How many souls go forth from their bodies [every day] in the whole world, and how many souls are born?" ⁴² The angel Michael said to me: "Dost thou think, O Abraham, that only those souls go forth from their bodies every day?" I said to the archangel: "Instruct me since I do not know." ⁴³ The angel said to me: "Hearken, that I may tell thee how many souls leave the body every day in the whole world." ⁴⁴ Ninety thousand nine hundred and ninety." ⁴⁵

While Michael was saying this to me, behold they brought a soul which they surrounded like . . . ⁴⁶ and they said: "Judge this soul." The judge said: "May they tell me all its deeds that are written down." ⁴⁷ Immediately an old man came forth from behind the curtain with a book in his hand and began to recite the sins that this soul had committed up to the last day. ⁴⁸ The soul was seized by a great anguish before the great and righteous judge. The soul said. "Not a thing of all this have I done," thinking that all it had done would not be remembered. God, the righteous Judge, said. "Can there be some lie in this place? No, there is no lie in this place." ⁴⁹ Then her mouth was closed and she was cast down into the lowest part of Gehenna.

I said to the archangel Michael: "O Lord, who is this honorable old man,⁵⁰ who has this book in his hand, comes near the Judge, and recites the bad deeds of this soul?" He said: "It is Enoch.⁵¹ When God saw that he was a trustworthy man, he gave him the task to write down all the good and bad deeds that a man's soul would commit."

And when Abraham had seen all the marvels the angel Michael returned him to his house. Abraham now fell asleep on his couch, in order that he might die like all men, according to God's will. He then summoned all his slaves and servants, men and women, and gave them the writ of manumission, and made on that day a bounteous meal⁵² for the poor.

When the time of his going forth from his body drew nigh, God said to Michael: "Permit not Death to frighten my friend Abraham, nor to terrify him when he goes forth from his body, but cheer thou him when (Death) comes to him, so that his soul may not be frightened." Michael made known to Death the deeds of Abraham and sent Death to him. Death came to him and approached his side while he was asleep. Abraham perceived him, and his body was frightened and terrified, and his soul was ravished,⁵³ desiring to go forth from his body.⁵⁴ And Abraham said to him: "Who art thou? Verily, ever since I have seen thee, all my senses, my bones, my body, and my soul were frightened. Let me know who thou art. I do not know whether thou art a great angel in this magnitude and in this glory because I cannot see thy praise. When angels come to me I feel strong, my soul is fortified, my body is made glad, my spirit is illuminated, and my bones are joyful. But when thou camest to me my body was ravished, my soul died away, and my inward parts were frightened. I beseech thee to tell me who art thou. The light of my eyes has gone little by little,⁵⁵ and I distinguish not those around me or at my side. Moreover, my tongue became heavy and weak when thou camest to me, my soul was troubled and wanted to fly away from my bones." Abraham wept and shouted in a big and strong voice to his son Isaac, saying: "Come near, my son, so that thou mayest perceive the one who searches around my bed, the one

who frightened me and because of whom I was afraid; since my old age⁵⁶ has made me weak my eyes are heavy and I perceive not this one." Isaac came near to him and kissed his mouth, and said to him: "O father Abraham, I see no one around thee. Why is it that thou weepest? Why art thou sad and troubled? Instruct me concerning thy deeds and ways, O father!" Abraham said: "O, my son Isaac, verily thy father goes forth from his body like all men; he goes away and will not return to this world." Isaac then wept: "Woe unto me, since thou goest away from me and leavest me an orphan alone. Where shall I find one like thee?" Abraham said to him: "Weep not, my son Isaac, for God is thy helper, He will protect thee until the day upon which thy flesh will disappear."⁵⁷ Abraham returned to his couch, to the chamber where he lay down, and said to him: "Let me know of a certainty who art thou and what is thy name?" And he said to him: "My name is Death; I am bitter,⁵⁸ the source of sorrow. I take all the souls and they do not come back; I frighten all men and bring affliction upon the mothers,⁵⁹ taking away the children while they are around (them). My name is Death, O Abraham, I take men away." Abraham said to him: "Art thou Death, and yet so beautiful? And why dost thou frighten men, though appearing to them in the likeness of a beautiful face?"⁶⁰ Death said to Abraham: "Dost thou think, Abraham, that I come to all men in this way? No, only to the just do I come in the likeness of a shining face, but to the sinners I come in the likeness of an ugly, a frightening, and an appalling face. I devour them and then make them leave their bodies." Abraham said to him. "How is it that thou now hast such a beauty surrounding thee?" Death said to Abraham: "This beauty is only for thee, because thou [art just]. I clothe myself according to a man's deeds, and so I come to him." Abraham said to him: "Let me see, then, thy true appearance and thy shape, that I may behold thee." Death said to Abraham: "May thy servants go forth far from the doors of this dwelling lest they see me and die, all of them. Verily, none may see my image and live."⁶¹ Abraham said: "Can one die before the end of his days and the arrival of his time?" Death said to him: "Yes, it is possible,

by plague and hunger that God appoints and brings upon cities and countries because of their sins. Then God brings down his wrath upon them and He sends [me] to bring forth the souls, as He pleases. Then I bring forth [the souls], I, Death, and my son ⁶² whom I have created from wrath and fear and whom I have named Abēlrēlyos,⁶³ because he carries the dead. We are both full of wrath. I scourge from one end of the world to the other. We take the souls we find in all places, and we show not mercy to young or old; we respect not the gray head of an old man and pity not the young man; we spare not the children that suck the milk of their mothers and leave not the bridegroom nor bride; but we make them to quit their bodies. My son Abrālāryos smites with ulcer and sickness, and I bring forth their souls from their bodies." Having said this he began to show his likeness and to uncover his ugly face and the foulness of his aspect. He had many heads, [some of them were] like the faces of serpents, and the others gave forth sparks of fire, so that eighteen of the servants of Abraham died through fear ⁶⁴ and the remaining fell on their faces before him. The shadow of death destroyed them until Michael raised them and set them on their feet. Death went away from them and Michael took Abraham's soul and found it cold as white snow.⁶⁵ Then he bore him away on a chariot, and hosts of angels preceded it with songs until they laid it upon the place of rest.

The patriarch Abraham departed the twenty-eighth of Nahasē at the age of one hundred and ninety-five years.⁶⁶ Isaac bewailed him, covered him with a shroud in great honor, carried him, and buried him in the sepulcher of Sarah that he had bought from the children of Get.⁶⁷ He mourned for him sixty days, and after the mourning Isaac returned to his dwellings and said to his servants: "Behold, my father set you free and it is proper that you now work as free men."

Isaac worked righteousness, [for he was a] believer like his father Abraham. We believe in the Father.⁶⁸ Praise and glory to Him forever. Amen.

The book of Abraham's life is finished with God's peace. Amen.

THE DEATH OF MOSES

General Character

FEW STORIES of the Old Testament have so stirred the imaginations of men as the account of the death of Moses in Deut. 34. That the ancients themselves were aware of the greatness and grandeur of this story is evident from the fact that a poetic "Song of Moses" and a "Blessing of Moses" were put with it to lend it still greater impressiveness. In later apocalyptic literature, which was so much inclined to place prophecy in the mouths of famous men of old, Moses was an especially important figure. The work known as the Assumption of Moses (*Assumptio Mosis*),¹ which has survived—though perhaps incompletely—in Latin but was doubtless originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic and is held by recent scholars to have originated about 4 B.C., is the only surviving representative of that class of literature in which Moses is the central figure.

The death of Moses had a general story interest for Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans.² Not only are legends connected with it occasionally mentioned in the rabbinical writings³ but special midrashim dealing with the subject were compiled.⁴

The Falasha text of the Death of Moses is not an apocalypse like that of the Testament of Abraham but rather a midrash. It is not concerned with the course of national history or with judgment and redemption but rather with the figure of the great man. There is deep feeling in the description of his death.

Synopsis

After an introductory blessing comes the title, "The Story of the Coming of the Angel of Death to the Prophet Moses." Moses ascends Sinai to pray and in opening the Torah to read from it comes across five sayings which he is unable to understand. God, to whom he appeals, declares that He wrote them, understands

them, and will explain them to Moses (107, 3-10). The sayings are then taken up seriatim. They are not, however, actual quotations from the Pentateuch but reflections which might well be regarded as based on The Scriptures. The first threatens with Gehenna those yielding under temptation or provocation to the thought that there is another God besides the one God. The second promises blessings to him who believes in God. The third predicts Gehenna for the sinner, contrasting his present laughter and his future weeping. The fourth predicts Gehenna at the time of final judgment for those who take for themselves the credit for acquiring wealth instead of attributing it to God. The fifth predicts that there will be no mercy for the creatures that do not pray with a pure heart to God as the creator and ruler of all things (107, 11-108, 14). Moses then speaks of being puzzled over another thing God (supposedly) said in His book, namely that He asked Heaven and earth whether they believed in Him. He wants to know what God would have done to them had they disbelieved. God says He would have sent the smallest creature in the sea to devour them, and even after that it would still have been smaller than a mustard seed (108, 15-25).

All this introduction material seems to relate but loosely to the death of Moses. To that theme, however, the text now passes. Moses adjures God to reveal to him the day on which He will take away his soul. The first of human kind to receive such information, he is told it will be on a Friday (108, 26-33). Every Friday Moses now prepares himself to die. After a time, however, he forgets about this and neglects to prepare. Then one day (apparently on a Friday) he climbs Mt. Sinai and prays to God. Suddenly one resembling a young man of the children of Israel stands before him and addresses him with the salutation of peace. Moses is terrified and asks him who he is. He reveals himself as Suryāl, the Angel of Death, and his purpose is to take Moses' soul away to God. Moses asks for postponement till the third hour of the morning that he may go to his wife and children. God bids the angel wait, and the latter does so, seating himself meanwhile in the shade (108, 34-109, 20). Moses, descending from Sinai, comes to a fork in the

road. One path leads to his wife, the other to his mother. A voice from Heaven bids him go first to his mother. When he tells her that his death is near she at first will not believe that he who had seen God could die. He asks her to put her left foot at his left side and pray with outstretched hands that God may ease the bitterness of death. He goes away weeping, attended by her comforting words (109, 21-110, 3).

Next Moses goes to his wife. She, too, is reluctant to believe that he will die. He asks for his children and his wife rouses them out of sleep and brings them by the hands to their father that they may weep over the parting with him. He takes his younger son Eleazar on his right knee, and the older Gershom on his left knee and blesses them. His wife and children anticipate that God will no longer protect them. The thought distresses Moses enormously. God thereupon reassures him, recalling how He had made Pharaoh's daughter Tarmut care for Moses. He also gives him a sign: He commands him to strike a rolling stone which bursts and a small worm utters a blessing to the God Who did not forget it while it was in the depths of the sea. Moses is thus reassured as to the divine nurture of his children, and is bidden to take his leave (110, 4-111, 19). He departs from the house and does not know where to go. He meets three handsome young men, angels in disguise, digging a grave. He learns it is for a man beloved of God and offers to help them. When he bids them bring the corpse they express the fear that the grave is too small for the body, which is of Moses' size, and they ask him to enter the grave and measure it for them. When he does so he finds the Angel of Death. They exchange salutations and he dies and is buried by the angels (111, 20-37).

Sources and Age

The abrupt beginning and the initial material which has no bearing on Moses' death suggest that the Falasha text of the Death of Moses may be part of a more extensive book about Moses. Many details as well as the general character of the

Falasha text seem to point to the conclusion that it derives, or is even a translation, from an Arabic text.⁵ There are, of course, divergences between the Arabic and the Ethiopic versions. But the lack of any national idea in the Ethiopic text,⁶ as well as the presence of certain details such as Moses' death on Friday, the rest day of the Moslems, the rather humorous manner in which the author describes the last moments of Moses' life, and certain other peculiarities seem to prove that the Ethiopic text goes back to an Arabic source. Ultimately, however, the Christian and Moslem legends may very well stem from Jewish sources.

The Falashas recite the text of the Death of Moses during funeral ceremonies at the cemetery. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Jewish midrash "Pētiraṭ Moše rabbenu" was also compiled for liturgical reasons, to be recited at the feast of Simḥat Torah together with the last chapter of the Pentateuch, which describes Moses' death; as pericope the Jews recite on that day the first chapter of Joshua, also referring to Moses' death.⁷

The Assumption of Moses furnishes abundant proof that materials about the death of Moses may be very ancient. As for our present form of the Falasha text, if it is indeed a translation of an Arabic text, it would date from the fourteenth or fifteenth century when the impact of Arabic was particularly felt in Ethiopia.

Texts and Bibliography

The present text is translated from the Ethiopic text published by Faitlowitch. I found another manuscript in the National Library of Addis Ababa; this has the title of "Zēna Musē" (Story of Moses) and is bound with a Christian-Ethiopic religious manuscript. Where the Addis Ababa manuscript has better readings than Faitlowitch—which is often—they are used in the present translation.

The text published by Faitlowitch is designated by F; the manuscript of Addis Ababa is marked A.

Jacques Faitlowitch, *Mota Musē*, "The Death of Moses" (Paris, 1906). This is the first edition of the Ethiopic text along with French and Hebrew translations. The editor added two Arabic texts which he translated into French: "On the Death of Moses" and "Confidential Conversation of the Lord with Moses," both taken from Arabic manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris: No. 1363, fol. 205^v, and No. 275, fol. 63^r.⁸

Heinrich Malter, "Der Tod Moses in der aethiopischen Ueberlieferung," *MGWJ*, 51 (1907), 707-716. This is a detailed study of Faitlowitch's edition.

Dorothea Weissenberg, "Moses Tod: Eine falaschische Legende," *Mitteilungen zur juedischen Volkskunde* (1907), pp. 38-42; this is a German translation of the French version.

J. D. Eisenstein, *Osar Midrašim* (New York, 1915), pp. 371-372 republishes the Hebrew translation.

L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5, 162-163; synopsis in English.

A. Z. Aescoli, *Hafalašim*, Hebrew synopsis with some observations, pp. 113-115.

Translation

Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel, the Lord of all spirit and all flesh.⁹

The story of the coming of the Angel of Death to the prophet Moses, the son of Amram¹⁰ and Jochabed.

Michael said . . .¹¹

Moses ascended Mt. Sinai to pray to God and opened the Torah to read therefrom. He found five sayings which he was unable to understand. God called unto Moses and said to him: "I wrote them with mine own hand, and I understand their meaning. Harken and understand as I tell thee the first word."

When exile, hunger, abundance, joy, sickness, poverty, and sorrow arrive, he who thinks in his heart that there is a God besides me and knows not that I shall judge him, because I am God whose throne is above all [I shall bring him into the fire of Gehenna].¹²

Hearken to the second saying. Him who believes in me I shall give a happy life and a prompt mercy.

Hearken to the third saying. Him who sins, laughing, I shall bring, crying, into the fire of Gehenna.

Hearken to the fourth saying. Him who finds wealth and says not: "God gave it to me," but says: "I obtained it by mine own strength," when the end of the world comes I shall bring into the fire of Gehenna.

Hearken to the fifth saying. When all creatures will not pray to me ¹³ with a constant heart, saying: "God, our Lord, Thou didst create Heaven and earth, Paradise and Sheol, night and day, sun and moon"; when they will not believe ¹⁴ in me and (will not believe) that I sit on my throne which is above the waters, ¹⁵ I shall not show them mercy. ¹⁶

Moses answered God and said to him: "O God, I have read Thy book, and found in it that Thou hast said to the Heaven and the earth: 'Do you believe in me or do you refuse?' And Heaven and earth said: 'We believe in Thee, O Lord!'" Moses said to God: "If they did not believe in Thee what wouldst Thou have done to Heaven and earth?" God answered Moses and said to him: "I would have sent the smallest of all animals that live ¹⁷ in the sea, whose whereabouts no one knows and none but I alone has perceived; I would have sent this animal to devour them all in the twinkling of an eye; and when it [had] so devoured them it would not resemble a grain of mustard seed ¹⁸ sown in the earth." ¹⁹

Moses said to God: "O Lord, I adjure Thee, by Thy name which Thou hast revealed to me and which none knows but I and Thou alone, that Thou tell me the day in which Thou wilt take away my soul." ²⁰ God said to Moses: "Listen, Moses, I shall tell thee, though I have told the day of his death to no man, neither to the prophets who were before thee nor even to the angels who approach me. To thee, Moses, I shall tell it: I shall take thy soul away on Friday." ²¹

And every Friday Moses put on burial clothes and purified himself for the arrival of the Angel of Death. After a time Moses forgot about the day [of his death] and ascended Mt. Sinai ²²

and prayed to God. Then the Angel of Death appeared and stood before him as a young man of the children of Israel and said to him "Peace upon thee, Moses!" When Moses heard the voice of the Angel of Death his throat contracted, his tongue was tied, he was unable to utter a word, his knees trembled, and he fell on his face. Then he rose and said to the Angel of Death: "Who art thou that said to me: ²³ 'Peace be upon thee!' I never heard a voice which frightened me as does thine." ²⁴ The Angel of Death said to Moses: "Dost thou not know me? Harken, Moses, to what I tell thee: I am the one who is tasted ²⁵ by women and children; the one who destroys houses and builds graves until the coming of the end of the world. I am Suryāl,²⁶ the Angel of Death." Moses said to the Angel of Death: "What hast thou come to do?" The Angel of Death said to Moses: "I came to take thy soul and to bring her before God." Moses said to the Angel of Death: "I adjure thee by the God who sent thee not to take ²⁷ my soul until the third hour of the morning,²⁸ until I shall go to my wife and children." ²⁹ God said to the Angel of Death: "Leave him until his time does arrive." The Angel left him until his time arrived and sat shaded from the sun.

Moses descended from Mt. Sinai and arrived at a parting of the ways; one road led to his wife and one to his mother.³⁰ He stood between them and thought to himself: Should I go to my wife or to my mother? While he was so thinking he heard a voice from Heaven, saying: "Go first to thy mother." And he went to his mother. When he arrived at the door he called: "Open to me." His mother came, opened the door, and saw that the face of her son was sad and his body withered. She said to him: "What has befallen thee, my son? Did the shepherds come to tell thee that thy cattle got lost,³¹ or what is it that has happened to thee?" Moses said to his mother: "Who calls me but God, and who frightens me but Death?" His mother said to him: "Will he who spoke with God face to face and mouth to mouth ³² die?" He said to his mother: "Yes, he will die; all the prophets died.³³ Rise, put thy left foot at my left side, stretch out both thy hands and pray to God that He may ease the bitterness ³⁴ of death." She did what

he told her and he kissed her. He parted from her and wept with a great weeping. She said: "Let us not believe in the fashion of this world, and let us look for what is in Heaven." ³⁵

When Moses went to his wife his spirit fainted, his body ³⁶ withered, and he knew not his way. He arrived at the door and said to her. "I am Moses, open to me." She arose and opened to him. Moses entered, and she saw that his face was pale and his heart faint. She said to him: "What has befallen thee, my beloved, that thy heart is faint and thy body withered? Hast thou lost thy camels or thy wealth?" Moses said to his wife: "Who calls me but God, and who frightens me but Death?" His wife said to him: "Will he who spoke with God die?" He said to her: "Yes, he will die, Abraham died, and all the prophets died." And Moses said to his wife: "Where are my children?" ³⁷ His wife said to him: "They sleep in their beds." Moses said to his wife: "Bring them to me." And she wept with a great weeping. She went, weeping, and said to the children: "Go to your father before he dies, for you shall see him no more." She awakened them from their sleep and brought them, holding their hands in her right and left hands, and said to them: "Weep over your father, for you and he must part." They said to her: "Where is our father?" She brought them to their father and said to them: "Look well at your father until you be satisfied, for soon you will be parted." When they saw their father they fell on their faces and wept with a great weeping. Moses wept with them, and said to them: "We part from upon the earth." His wife said to him: "Shall we see one another then no more?" He put his younger son Eleazar on his right knee and his older son Gershom on his left ³⁸ and he blessed them. He said to them: "Now we part." ³⁹ They said: "Now that we part from our father, even he who loved us will deliver us [to others], and he who hates us will banish us." When Moses heard his children's words he wept, and Heaven and earth wept with him. God said to Moses. "What makes thee cry? Is it because thou leavest the earth or because thou fearest death?" Moses said to God: "My two children and my wife do make me cry. Her father, Jethro, died; my brother, Aaron, died too; and if I die, to whom will I leave them?" God said to Moses: "When

thou wast born and thy mother Jochabed hid thee in a box and threw thee out upon the sea, did I forget thee then? I closed the mouth of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, and made it so that his mouth could utter no words, and I made thee so that Tarmut,⁴⁰ Pharaoh's daughter, loved thee much and called thee: 'My child,' and thou didst stay forty years. And now rise and take thy rod and smite the Red Sea."⁴¹ Moses arose and smote the sea. Then he went out of the sea and found a big stone that rolled. God said to Moses: "Strike this stone that rolls." And he struck the stone, and the stone burst asunder. He found in the stone a small worm eating green grass that said: "Blessed be God who did not forget me until this day, while I was in the depths of the sea." God said to Moses: "Dost thou not see that I forgot not the worm while he lived hidden in a rolling stone in the sea? And dost thou think that I shall forget thy children when they pray to me? Thy children will be my security. And now, kiss thy children and thy wife, because those who will take thy soul away draw nigh, and thou wilt enter here no more."⁴² His wife embraced him, and she wept with a great weeping, and Moses wept with her. Then he went out of his house, and he left his wife and children.⁴³ He walked with a faint heart and a pale face and did not know which way to walk. He met three handsome young men⁴⁴ digging a grave. He said to them: "Peace upon you, and may God's peace be with you." Then he said to them: "For whom do you dig this grave?" They said to him: "We dig it for a man beloved of God." Moses said to them: "If you dig for a man beloved of God I shall help you and shall dig with you." When they had finished the grave Moses said to them: "Bring the corpse that we should bury."⁴⁵ The young men said—and they were angels in the appearance of men—"We are afraid that the place will be too small for him whom we would bury, and he is like thee in size, length, and appearance; now enter the grave and measure it for us." Moses entered the grave and he found there the Angel of Death. The Angel of Death said to Moses: "Peace upon thee, Moses, son of Amram." Moses said to the Angel of Death: "May the greeting return to thee."⁴⁶ So Moses died, and the angels buried him.

PRAYERS

Character and Language

PRAYER is the most important religious activity of the Falashas. Fixed forms are naturally used for the purpose. The Falashas recite their prayers in the synagogue or, occasionally, outdoors. On weekdays the High Priest, or the priest in charge of the religious service, recites them; it is, of course, permissible for other priests or laymen to participate but they do not do so as a rule. On Saturdays and on festivals the people come to the synagogue and either join in prayer with the priests or listen. The believer on entering the synagogue turns toward Jerusalem and prostrates himself. The priests pray with faces turned toward Jerusalem. On Saturdays and holidays one or two priests lead off while the other priests, together with the people, respond. The older women who are present in the synagogue from time to time utter sharp cries of *ēlēll* and prostrate themselves. During the prayer priests and laymen remain standing; only between the prayers are the priests allowed to sit down on the bench called *arajt*, "place of repose."

There are six different prayers during the day and four at night; each has a special name taken from the opening word or phrase. The prayers of daytime are the following:

- 1) *měsrāqa sahay*, "the rising of the sun," recited when the sun rises
- 2) *ně'u něsgěd*, "come and let us prostrate ourselves," appropriate to the forenoon
- 3) *maharanna*, "be graceful to us," spoken at midday
- 4) *qěddus* "holy," recited in the afternoon "when the sun is cooling off"
- 5) *mahāri mahāri*, "gracious one, gracious one," recited before sunset
- 6) *yětbāraq*, "may he be blessed," spoken at sunset.

The prayers recited at night are:

- 1) 'ēgzi'o 'aq^wrēr, "O Lord, soothe (your anger)," said "when it is time to go to bed"
- 2) wabēzuh, "and numerous," used at midnight
- 3) k̄alhu, "proclaim," spoken before dawn "when the hens cry"
- 4) 'ēgzi'o sarāh̄ku, "O Lord, I called," recited when it dawns.

There are also particular prayers for the Sabbath and the festivals. The leading themes of the Falasha prayers are often the same as those in the prayers of the western Jews: return to Jerusalem, re-establishment of the duties of the priests at the temple, praise of God, etc. The ideas and expressions are frequently taken from the Old Testament. A detailed investigation of the use of the Falasha prayers still remains to be made.

The language of the prayers is Geez; in some of them, however, one still finds passages in Quarēnya, the Cushite language previously used by the Falashas. The weekday prayers are recited from memory; for Saturday or holiday prayers the priests may use a prayer book, which must not be printed but written on parchment. Except on weekdays, Saturdays, and the Day of Atonement the priests beat the drum and strike a gong with a piece of iron during the prayers. All this is accompanied by rhythmic movements of the body. They also beat the drum and sound the gong every Friday morning in honor of the approaching Sabbath.

It seems that in former days the Falashas covered their heads in the synagogue; today only the priests do so. The priests wear no special attire at prayers. Only on holidays and for special occasions do they put on multicolored and embroidered vestments. When they pray outdoors, as at the Fast of Supplication or on some special occasion, the deacons bear umbrellas for the priests, a practice also characteristic of the Ethiopian church.

Text and Bibliography

The English text of the following prayers is a translation of the Ethiopic text published by Halévy, *Prières des Falashas*. No statement is made by Halévy on the time when these prayers are recited. For the sake of convenience the prayers are divided into

sections, but it must be kept in mind that the division is an artificial one.

Joseph Halévy, *Prières des Falashas* (Paris, 1877), Ethiopic text, 58 pages; Hebrew translation, 28 pages.

—, "Nouvelles prières des Falashas," *Revue Sémitique* (1911), pp. 96-104, 215-218, 344-364, with both text and French translation.

C. Conti Rossini, *Appunti*, pp. 593-597, with both Ethiopic text and Italian translation.

C. A. Viterbo, "Nuovi manoscritti Falascia," *Annuario di Studi Ebraici* (1935-37), pp. 113-123.

A. Z. Aescoli, "Sēride tēfillah 'ibriyyim 'esel hafalašim," *Tarbitz* (1944), pp. 88-92; Hebrew translation.

—, *Sefer Hafalašim*, Hebrew translation, pp. 131-143.

—, various prayers in *Ha'olam* (1928), p. 615; *Hadō'ar* (1931), pp. 476-477; *Hauscha* (Amsterdam, 1931), p. 239.

S. Strelcyn, "Sur une prière 'falacha' publiée par C. Conti Rossini dans les Appunti di storia e letteratura Falascia," *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, 8 (1949), 63-82.

A collection of Falasha prayers in manuscript is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; see Conti Rossini, *Notice*, pp. 215-218.

Translation

1. Hallelujah.¹ Praise is fitting for Thee, God, as well as majesty and honor. Thou art the most high, who sitteth upon a high throne, because Thou art the grace of the just, the crown of the pure, the greatness of the humble, the strength of the weak. Hallelujah to the only God, Holy, Holy, Holy. Thou art merciful and gracious, Thou exaltest the lowly and girdest the strong. Thou alone art King and Lord of justice and righteousness. Praise to God, the one, the most high, who sitteth in Heaven; He is blessed in the height of Heaven, His name is holy and pure. Praise and glory to God who is in Heaven and on earth.

Hallelujah to God, the praised King, the holy, the living, the

just, the merciful, the strong, the terrible, the praised, who sitteth upon His high throne in eternal pleasure. Praise to Him, blessings, wisdom, and strength to our Lord.

Hallelujah to God, the King of praise, because Thou art the Creator and Thou createst everything with Thy will.² Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel. Blessed and praised be God, the first without beginning and the last without end. There is no end to the kingdom of the blessed God.

2. Blessed be God, the Lord, the powerful with His power, who weakens the strong with His strength and the powerful with His power. Praised be the name of God, the blessed God. Blessed be God who existed of old with glory, strength, praise, delight and kingdom. Praised be the name of God, the praised and blessed God.

Blessed be God in all the deeds He did, in all the thoughts He thought, in all the advices He advised, and in all the wishes He wished. Blessed be the name of the blessed God.

Blessed be the name of the praised God, the Creator of all the creatures, who having created, completed, and having done [his work] was neither hungry nor thirsty nor weak. Praised be the name of the blessed God.

Blessed be the name of God, the Lord, who woke me from sleep, who strengthened me from weakness, who lifted me from bed, who revived me from death, who stood me on my feet, who healed me from illness. Blessed be the name of the blessed God.

Praised be the praised God, who protected me, delivered me, redeemed me, who spared me from my youth to the day in which I fell into hunger, pestilence, war and sore illness; when I fell on the road into caverns and water; when I fell among [the dead] who are the portion of the beasts of the field and of the birds of the sky. The birds of the sky ate their flesh and the beasts of the field drank their blood. God strengthened me even when He saw and knew all my sins and understood the uncleanness of my heart.³ He is just, merciful, long suffering, abundant in mercy and justice. He was patient toward me, He the gracious, the merciful

in the multitude of His mercies, His grace, and patience; the gracious and the abundant in truth who protected me and brought me [to Heaven] freely, as He does to the righteous and the angels, not in our justice but in His justice. Blessed and glorified be the name of the blessed God.

Blessed be God who gave me the holy Sabbath for rest, and the pure and the holy feasts so that we may give thanks to His holy name and bless His glorious name. Now may the name of God be sanctified, praised, and glorified.

Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel, who gave me a mouth, a heart, thoughts, and intelligence.

3. "Hearken, you people, to God's voice, and incline your hearts to this book, for God loved me and gave this book," says Abbā,⁴ commanding us to pray in our lives. The only God will help us.

Praised be God who gave me to eat and to drink. I shall praise and bless God, even I who am wicked. He gave me knowledge and I became good and just. God will rejoice in his kingdom.

God is great and abundant in glory. May the name of Adonai be glorified and praised.

From the rising of the sun to the going down may the name of Adonai be blessed and glorified.

From north to south may the name of Adonai be blessed and glorified.

From left to right ⁵ may the name of Adonai be blessed and glorified.

From end to end may the name of Adonai be blessed and glorified.

From evening to morning may the name of Adonai be blessed and glorified.

From night to day may the name of Adonai be blessed and glorified.

From mudday to midnight may the name of Adonai be blessed and glorified.

4. May the name of Adonai, who created the sky with His wisdom, be blessed and glorified.

May the name of Adonai, who strengthened the earth without support,⁶ be blessed and glorified.

May the name of Adonai, who stretched the heavens like a curtain without columns, be blessed and glorified.

May the name of Adonai, who made the sun to rule by day,⁷ be blessed and glorified.

May the name of Adonai, who made the moon and the stars to rule by night,⁸ be blessed and glorified.

May the name of Adonai, who founded mountains and hills, be blessed and glorified.

May the name of Adonai, who made Adam in His image, be blessed and glorified.

5. Hallelujah, praise be to God. Hallelujah. Hear, Lord, my prayer. And He made His angels and His ministers a blazing fire.⁹

Michael and Gabriel will glorify and praise Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thy name, O Lord, forever.

Seraphim and cherubim will glorify and praise Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thy name, O Lord, forever.

Four animals¹⁰ who carry God's throne will praise and glorify Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thee, O Lord, forever.

Twenty-four priests of Heaven who burn incense around the throne of the most high shall glorify and praise Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thee. Blessed and glorified be Thy name forever.

The hundred thousand angels who stand before Thee shall glorify and praise Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thy name forever.

The thousand millions of angels who stand to Thy right and to Thy left shall glorify and praise Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thy name forever.

The angels who are in Heaven shall glorify and praise Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thy name, O Lord, forever. Hallelujah.

The angels who are in the clouds, lightning and thunder shall

glorify and praise Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thy name, O Lord, forever. Hallelujah.

The angels who are on the borders of the earth shall glorify and praise Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thy name, O Lord, forever. Hallelujah.

The angels who run with the sun and moon shall glorify and praise Thee; [we shall glorify and praise] Thy name, O Lord, forever. Hallelujah.

The angels who are in the sea shall glorify and praise Thee; [we shall glorify and praise] Thy name, O Lord, forever. Hallelujah.

Like the angels who shall praise [Thee], I shall glorify Thee and praise Thy name, O Lord. Hallelujah.

Ninety-nine families of angels shall glorify and praise Thee, O Lord. Hallelujah.

Fifteen prophets shall glorify and praise Thee. Hallelujah.

The just, the martyrs, and the pure in Paradise; the sinners, the iniquitous, and the rebellious in Hell, shall glorify and praise Thee, O Lord. Hallelujah.

Our patriarchs Abel, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, the priests and the prophets, the children of Aaron,¹¹ David, the king of Israel, shall glorify and praise Thee, O Lord. Hallelujah.

We shall glorify and praise Thee like Melchizedek, the priest, forever.

Ezra, Daniel, Enoch,¹² Elijah, and Elisha shall glorify and praise Thee; we shall glorify and praise Thee, O Lord. Hallelujah.

Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael shall glorify and praise Thee, O Lord. Hallelujah. So shall I glorify and praise Thee, O Lord. Hallelujah, I, Thy servant . . .

6. At the first hour of the night they shall glorify and praise Thee, O Lord. Hallelujah. I shall be submissive before God. No harm will come to any of them before they finish their prayers.

At the second hour of the night the (beings) that move in the waters and the whales shall joyfully praise Him who is in Heaven.

At the third hour of the night Hell and fire unto the lowest part [will praise Him]. None will be able to tell this hour; and he who knows this hour and prays and hides the interior of his heart, God,¹³ the Creator, will listen to him.

At the fourth hour the seraphim¹⁴ will praise Him and say: "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory."

At the fifth hour the waters will praise Him.

At the sixth hour the clouds will praise Him.

At the seventh hour the whole earth will be at rest and will sleep. At that hour the spirit of God will move upon the waters going out in the name of the terrible God. Then the priest will quickly take water, mix olive oil and butter in which there is a healing medicine, and it will heal all those who sleep in sickness and death.

At the eighth hour the gates of the earth will be open and the earth will bring forth grass, trees, and verdure.

At the ninth hour the angels will go out and bring the prayers of men before the most high. The gates of Heaven will be open and God will listen to the prayers of those who prayed and their sins will be forgiven according to their prayers. The cock will hear the noise of the wings of the seraphim and of the cherubim; he will cry and praise God. Joy and gladness will prevail upon the whole earth until the seventh hour.

7. Hallelujah Praise to God. Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel, for He is great in His greatness, glorified in His glory, holy in His holiness, praised in His praise. He is the first and no one can tell how long; He is the last and no one can tell how long. There is no beginning to His existence, and no end to His essence. There is no number to His days, and no count to His years. There is no aging to His youth, no weakness to His power, no corruption to His likeness, no obscurity to the light of His face, no shore to the sea of His wisdom, no measure to the grace of His commandments, and no limit to the width of His power. He is hidden, His thought cannot be found; He is hidden and no intelligence can

know Him; He is high and no eagle can reach Him; He is an abyss and no fish can reach Him. He is higher than the tops of the mountains and deeper than the depths of the sea. He is strong and kings can not overcome Him; He is the victor and rulers will not resist Him. He is wise and destroys the advice of the wise; He is intelligent and causes the thoughts of the advisers to be forgotten. He is strong and loosens the reins of the strong. He is oil that grinds the teeth of the sinners¹⁵ and breaks the arms of the proud. He is honored and humiliates the faces of the hypocrites. He is powerful and casts away the light of the wicked.¹⁶ He is unique, without companion, and alone, with none related. The heavens will perish and dry land be laid waste; everything will be worn out like a garment but He will abide forever. He is mightier than the noise of many waters. Mighty is the Lord in Heaven.

8. No one is like Him, none resembles Him of all the creatures and the sons of God. He alone is the Lord, He alone is God, He alone is the Creator, He alone is the one who accomplishes. He does not look for a helper in what He considers, and He needs no adviser in what He wishes, forever. Amen. Forever I shall pray. Amen.

Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel, who alone did great wonders.

Blessed be His praised name, holy and sanctified forever. Amen. Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts, the perfect.

The heavens are full of Thy praise. Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts.

He is praised by all and in the morning we shall glorify Thee. Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts.

When the sun shines we shall bless Thee. Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts.

His tabernacle is full of light and His pavilion full of fire. Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts.

His holy temple and His chariot of fire are terrible in Heaven.

Pray for us, angel Michael. Beseech for us, angel Gabriel, before His high throne. Pray for us, angel Raphael. Beseech for us, angel Rumā'el, before His high throne forever. Amen.

9. Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel. The hosts of angels before the Lord will praise the Lord, every one in time and in turn, and they will say to them: "Mankind was vanquished, and the Gracious one, who dies not, did vanquish forever Hallelujah."

The angels of Heaven will say to Him: "Hallelujah, our Creator, the God of gods, the Lord of lords, and the King above all kings. Hallelujah."

The angels of the second heaven will say: "O Lord, Thou dwellest forever and Thou wilt never die. Hallelujah."

The angels of the third heaven will say: "Thou killest all who have souls, Thou who diest not. Hallelujah."

The angels of the fourth heaven will say: "O long-suffering one, Thou hast power. Hallelujah."

The angels of the fifth heaven will say: "Holy, Holy, Holy the living Adonai, who does wonders. Hallelujah."

The angels of the sixth heaven will say: "Hallelujah, Thy throne is surrounded by fire and Thy pavilion is of light, forever. Hallelujah, God who dies not and grows not old."

The angels of the seventh heaven will say with one voice: "We shall praise and glorify Thee forever.¹⁷ Hallelujah."

All the angels of heaven will say: "Thou, O Lord, art eternally the first, and eternally the last. Thou art young without spot. Hallelujah. We praise Thee and exalt the holy glory of Thy praise."

10. Hallelujah, with the judgment of Thy strength and the power¹⁸ of Thy hand, O terrible one.

Hallelujah. All night long and all day long we shall worship and praise Thee who gave us Thy glory forever.

Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel. Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts, the King.

Blessed be God who created Heaven and earth. We shall praise God who created the sea and the dry land, the light and the darkness. May God alone be exalted in justice and right. There is no other God. Thy word shall not be refuted, Thy kingdom shall not be destroyed, Thy throne shall not be vanquished, Thy glory

and the praise of Thy angels in the prayers and supplications of the Falāsyān ¹⁹ shall not cease.

He grows neither old nor decrepit. He can do everything and nothing is impossible to Him. His throne is surrounded by fire and water is above Him; His pavilion is of burning fire; fire is before Him. Thou art perfect, without spot. Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts.

O Perfect, Thy glory is full in Heaven and earth; the just without sin, the gracious, the long suffering, the abundant in mercy, and just.

We believe in His name, the Lord of the poor and the hope of the desperate, the gracious. The eyes of all souls put their hope in Thee and we are confident in His Holy Name.

Heaven stands by His wisdom and earth is firm by His word. They will sing a new song unto Thee, master of the whole world, Lord of all creatures, and King of the gods.

Thou hast neither beginning nor end. Put us not to shame for what we ask Thee, and destroy us not, King of kings and Lord of lords.

11. Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts. His praise is full to all the ends of the world.

Holy, Holy, Holy, the strong, the powerful. His strength does not weaken, He governs alone, King, praised by all. His throne is high, the power of His kingdom is terrible, the art of His wisdom is admirable. He is all fire. He is perfect, pure, none is like Him. He knows and understands all thoughts beforehand. He is sanctified by the saints, and the strong tremble before His splendor. The King of kings, His kingdom is mighty. The Lord of the strong, He grows neither old nor ever corrupt. The King, He hides Himself not, but He cannot be seen. His abode is perfect, His deeds are wonderful.

He is praised. Many thousands shall praise Him and He is celebrated by all. He is glorified in the heavens above and is the source of everything pure. They shall not take away His authority, the Lord of the strong. His garment is light, His apparel fire. His

abode is built of hailstones and water is above it; His throne is fire. He rides upon a cherub,²⁰ His residence is in Heaven from of old. He is and will be.

12. Suddenly the angels²¹ will say: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of prayers, above all mercy; Lord of all, who kills the souls, without end. Thou, Lord, art patient, Thou hast strength, O Lord, Thou abidest forever and shalt die never. His greatness and the wondrous glory of His majesty cannot be told. None will be able to come near His abode. Thy name is living, Thou shalt not die, Adonai, who doest wonders. Thou art young, without blemish. We shall glorify and praise in the assembly of Thy praise in place of the sacrifice of harts, bullocks, and thousands of fat goats. O God of prayer, [hearken] to the prayer we address to Thee, on that day, on that Sabbath, [hearken] to me, Thy servant . . .

13. Hallelujah. Praise God in the council of His praises, the Holy. He alone is just, there is none like Him or beside Him. The angels of Heaven, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, with their hosts praise Him and say to Him: La'el, 'El, W'el, La'el, 'Elohē, Malhē, Adonai of hosts, Lāyo, Salādāy,²² Holy, Holy, Holy is God of hosts, the King. All the earth is filled with Thy glory. The stars of Heaven that have no mouths praise Him. Holy, Holy, Holy, the God of hosts, the living one. All the earth is filled with Thy glory. There is none like Him in the skies above and on the earth below. All the earth is filled with Thy glory.

They shall praise Him, the angels of Heaven, the angels of the deep, the angels of the springs, the angels of the winds, the angels of the snow, the angels of hail, the angels of fire, the angels of ashes, the angels of stormy winds, the angels of the rainy season, the angels of the dry season. The children of mankind shall serve Him, and the angels, horsemen who ride upon horses and chariots and those who ride upon fire, the angels of Heaven and the angels of the sea. They shall serve Him with blazing fire. They shall praise God who made Adam after His likeness²³ and made a covenant with Noah; who shows kindness unto thousands, the merciful, gracious, long suffering, abundant in mercy and just.

14. Hallelujah. Praise to God. So shall the hosts of His angels say to Him because His name is gracious. You, too, say thus: Thy name is terrible, Satanāwī, Qatanāwī, 'Onolāwī.²⁴ If my sins are (as numerous) as the sands of the sea and as heavy as iron let them be like ashes and water. Forgive me all my sins and blot out my transgressions by Sēqā, Şēqā, 'Anām'ēl, 'Ēlohē'ēl, Rēḥārnēmēn, Rāhēl, Dēmāhēl, Sutu'ēl, and 'Abyātēr, Mēnātēr, Satanāwī, Qatanāwī, 'Awi, Nolāwī. Deliver me with the strength of all Thy names from everything my soul fears, me, Thy servant . . .

And I say to my soul that she may not see the place of fear and consternation into which I bring her. I humiliated myself before Thee and I shall praise God, I, Thy servant . . .

God will help me, for He is great, God, my Lord. Put me not to shame, my Lord, God our judge, God our Lord, God, Lord of Israel, our King, because I transgressed [?] the laws of sacrifice. There is none pure, none without blemish before Thee, O Lord, that seest the hidden things, that triest the heart and the reins. Mistreat me not, but remember the covenant of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Thy servants.

15. Hallelujah. Praise to God. Adonai will reign above all the earth. That day God will be one and His name one.

Adonai is one.

Adonai, our Lord. Adonai is one.

Adonai, our King. Adonai is one.

Adonai, our Creator. Adonai is one.

Adonai, our guardian. Adonai is one.

Adonai, our shepherd. Adonai is one.

Adonai, our praise. Adonai is one.

Adonai, our joy and gladness. Adonai is one.

Adonai is praised. Adonai is one.

Adonai is high, Adonai is holy, Adonai is terrible, Adonai is faithful, Adonai is Savior, Adonai is strong, Adonai is good, Adonai is powerful, Adonai is one who requites, Adonai is victor, Adonai is patient, Adonai is long suffering, abundant in mercy and just. He will not contend forever and will not be wroth. Pity the one

Thou didst not pity, be gracious to the one to whom Thou didst not show grace. Adonai is merciful, Thy name is forever.

Adonai is the God of gods.

Adonai is the King of kings.

Adonai is the Lord of lords.

Adonai is the Governor of governors.

Adonai Lāho,²⁵ Adonai is one.

16. Great God, Thy name is God. Forever we shall call [Thee]. Thy wisdom is great, Thy hand is strong, Thine arm is high, Thy splendor is great and terrible.

We know, are certain, and understand that Thou art greater, more merciful,²⁶ more terrible, and more alive than all. Thou alone art Lord of Heaven and earth, and Thy kingdom is perfect in all. Nothing is hid from Thine eyes and Thy face, Adonai. God of near and far, Thou givest to the one who prays according to his prayer, Thou fulfilllest and givest him his desire.

God shall help me, Adonai, because none is like Thee and there is no other God besides Thee, as we heard with our own ears. There is none other [?] than the people of Israel whom God guides so that they may be numerous and accomplish martyrdom and lament.²⁷ Thou establishest the people forever. Thou, God, art their Lord, Thy word is faithful, and Thou hast taken [to Thyself] the house of Thy servant forever.

Blessed art Thou forever, Israel. Who is like thee, O people of Israel? Their Savior shall strengthen thee and help thee when they surround thee and they seek thy gold, but thou ridest on their necks.

17. This is Thy name and Thy memory for generations. Heaven is Thy throne and earth is Thy footstool. Thy word is not denied and Thy kingdom is not done away with. Remember me, O Lord, with Thy mercy, by the covenant with Noah, by the covenant with Abraham, by the covenant with Isaac, by the covenant with Jacob, by the covenant with Moses, by the covenant with David, by the covenant with the prophets, the first priests.

Hearken, O Lord, to our prayers in Thy mercy. O Lord, help our state, deliver us because of Thy name and redeem us.

And it came to pass when the ark set forward that Moses said: "Rise up, Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered."

He who blesses the house of Israel, [bless me].

He who blesses the house of Aaron, bless me.

He who blesses the house of Levi, bless me.

Bless me in Thy going out and in Thy coming in and in Thy leaving.

With the dew of the sky and the fruit of the earth bless me.

In Thy name and in the word of the Torah, Adonai, bless me.

18. Do not separate me, O Lord, from the chosen, from the joy, from the light and the splendor. Let me see, O Lord, the light of Israel, and let [me] listen to the words of the just while they speak about the law to teach fear of Thee, O Lord, King forever.

Thou art blessed, O Lord, be merciful to me. By day be Thou my shepherd, and my guardian at night. When I walk be my guide, when I sit be my guardian. When I call Thee keep Thou not silent. I love Thee, hate me not; I have confidence in Thee, abandon me not; I follow Thee, put me not to shame; I look after Thee, despise me not. Let me pass the day in Thy peace. Let me pass the day in Thy mercy and Thine integrity, without sin, without sadness, without judgment and fire of Gehenna, without Satan and the devil. Because of Thy name, Adonai, watch over me; because of Thy name, Adonai, guide me.

19. Blessed be God, Lord of Israel.

Moses prayed on Mount Sinai. Praise God.

Air is His seat. Praise God.

Saner ²⁸ is His sanctuary. Praise God.

The palace of Heaven is His throne. Praise God.

Light is His tent. Praise God.

Water is the top of His palace. Praise God.

Plates of hailstones are the pavement of His house. Praise God.

Fire is His pavilion. Praise God.

Flames are His door. Praise God.
Cherubim are His horses. Praise God.
Fire is His throne. Praise God.
The noise of thunder is His speech. Praise God.
Justice and life are [His] lightning. [Praise God.]
Thunder comes from beneath His throne. Praise God.
The clouds of grace are His apostles. Praise God.
The intelligence [?] of the winds is His chariot. Praise God.
The face of the earth is before Him. Praise God.
The smokes of the mountains are His touch. Praise God.
He blots out sins Praise God.
He gladdens the heart. Praise God.
His name makes the children wise. Praise God.
His commandments enlighten the eyes. Praise God.
His word is faithful. Praise God.
He is wise in His counsel. Praise God.
There is no place where He is not found. Praise God.
There is [no thought] He does not think. Praise God.
There is none save Him. Praise God.
With His grace He reduced to nought the stores of His wrath.
Praise God.
He is the King who precedes His kingdom. Praise God.
With His mercy He hides His anger. Praise God.
Summer and winter are through His grace. Praise God.
He diminishes not His favor. Praise God.
His heart is not vengeful. Praise God.
His thought is not perverse. Praise God.
His strength lessens not. Praise God.
His judgment is not perverted. Praise God.
There is none like Him. Praise God.
He respects not persons. Praise God.
He purifies the unclean. Praise God.
He sanctifies the profane. Praise God.
He blesses the cursed. Praise God.
He heals the sick. Praise God.
He cures the ill. Praise God.

He is a support for the broken. Praise God.
He is strength for the weak and the abandoned. Praise God.
He is hope for the despairing. Praise God.
He comforts the solitary. Praise God.
He revives the dead and those who fall down. Praise God.
He removes the appointed. Praise God.
He redeems the lost. Praise God.
He searches for the abandoned. Praise God.
He comforts the sad. Praise God.
He gladdens the sorrowful. Praise God.
He sustains the fallen. Praise God.
He exalts the low. Praise God.
He humiliates the proud. Praise God.
He makes of no effect the poison of the healers. Praise God.
He destroys the device of the advisers. Praise God.
He gives intelligence to those who err and those who slander.
Praise God.
He instructs the foolish. Praise God.
He is indulgent toward the villains. Praise God.
He awakens the prostrate. Praise God.
He makes tasty the unsavory. Praise God.
He makes the dumb speak. Praise God.
He opens the ears of the deaf. Praise God.
He helps the afflicted. Praise God.
He subjugates Satan.²⁹ Praise God.
He shows mercy to the erring. Praise God.
He makes peace in a quarrel. Praise God.
He covers the naked. Praise God.
He clothes the poor. Praise God.
He is bread for the hungry. Praise God.
He is a spring for the thirsty. Praise God.
He lengthens the days of the old. Praise God.
He cares for the orphans. Praise God.
He is higher than the highest. Praise God.
He is more honored than the honored. Praise God.
He is governor of the governors. Praise God.

He is ruler of the rulers. Praise God.

He is king of the kings. Praise God.

He is God of the gods. Praise God.

He is chief of the chiefs. Praise God.

He is Lord of the lords. Praise God.

He is a light that does not darken. Praise God.

The splendor of His magnitude does not become cloudy. Praise God.

He gives but none gives to Him. Praise God.

He lends but none lends to Him. Praise God.

He increases but none adds to Him. Praise God.

He teaches but none teaches Him. Praise God.

He judges but none judges Him. Praise God.

He justifies but needs not be justified. Praise God.

He sees but none sees Him. Praise God.

He subjugates but none subjugates Him. Praise God.

He knows but none knows Him. Praise God.

There is none save Him. Praise God.

His word is faithful. Praise God.

He is just in His deeds. Praise God.

He is wise in His advice. Praise God.

20. Men and angels who knew not His advice when He hid Himself from them looked for justice from Thee. They looked to Thee for the right time and feast. Hallelujah. Praise God. Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel for ever and ever, for He has wisdom, counsel, and strength. He changes the years and the days; He establishes kings and removes them; He gives wisdom to the wise, advice to the advisers. He unveils deep and hidden things. He knows all things that are in darkness, and He has light. Thou, God of our fathers, we worship Thee and praise Thee, for Thou gavest me wisdom and knowledge, while I praise Thee and pray to Thy kingdom.

21. Listen to me, O Lord, to my prayer, Adonai, eternal King. When the whole world rejoices in Thy kingdom, while Thou de-

liverest Thy people Israel and art gracious unto Jerusalem, Thy city, make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel, deliver me, be gracious unto me, Thy servant . . .

Put me with Thy saints and just ones. Thou, Adonai, Thy name is merciful, Adonai, king forever. When all the holy angels rejoice in Thy kingdom, while Thou deliverest Thy people Israel and art gracious unto Jerusalem, Thy city, make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel. Deliver me, Thy servant . . .

Put me with Thy just because Thou art just, Adonai. Thy name is merciful, Adonai, eternal King. When all the lights of Heaven ³⁰ rejoice in Thy kingdom while Thou deliverest Thy people Israel and art gracious unto Jerusalem, Thy city, make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel. Deliver me, Thy servant . . .

Put me with Thy monks because Thou art just, O Lord, Adonai. Thy name is merciful, Adonai, eternal King. When the whole earth rejoices in Thy kingdom, while Thou deliverest Thy people Israel and art gracious unto Jerusalem, Thy city, make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel. Deliver me, Thy servant . . .

Put me with Thy anchorites, for Thou art just, Adonai. Thy name is merciful, Adonai, eternal King. When the mountains and hills and all the trees of the plain rejoice in Thy kingdom, while Thou deliverest Thy people Israel and art gracious unto Jerusalem, Thy city, make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel. Deliver me, Thy servant . . .

Put me with Thy just, for Thou art just, Adonai. Thy name is merciful, Adonai, eternal King. When the seas and the roaring waves with their servants rejoice in Thy kingdom, while Thou deliverest Thy people Israel and art gracious unto Jerusalem, Thy city, make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel. Deliver me, Thy servant . . .

Put me with Thy chosen, for Thou art just, Adonai. Thy name is merciful, Adonai, eternal King. When they [?] rejoice in Thy kingdom, while Thou deliverest Thy people Israel and art gracious

unto Jerusalem, Thy city, make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel. Deliver me, Thy servant . . .

Deliver me and put me with Thy people Israel, for Thou art just, Adonai. Thy name is merciful, Adonai, eternal King. When Thy city, the city of Zion, rejoices, and the mountain of Thy sanctuary, the place of Thy glory, is joyful in Thy kingdom, while Thou deliverest Thy people Israel and art gracious toward Thy servants,³¹ make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel. Deliver me, Thy servant . . .

Put me with Levi [who burns] incense, for Thou art just, Adonai. Thy name is merciful, Adonai, eternal King. When the children of Aaron, the priests (anointed) with the holy oil, the blessed, and the perfect³² rejoice in Thy kingdom for the absolution of sin, while Thou deliverest Thy people Israel, then absolve me of my sins, too, and make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel. Deliver me, Thy servant . . .

Put me with Thy saints, for Thou art just, Adonai. Thy name is merciful, Adonai, eternal King. When Thou alone rulest us in justice and righteousness, when Thou givest Israel reign over her enemies, then make me rejoice in Thy kingdom together with Thy chosen Israel. Deliver me, Thy servant . . .

Put me with Thy just, for Thou art just, Adonai. Thy name is merciful, Adonai, eternal King. [When] Thou rulest over the sinners with great vengeance wilt Thou avenge them, and when Thou punishest them with the death of Hell for their iniquity then kill me not with them because of my sins. Verily, man is a sinner, but Thou art merciful.

22. Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel, forever. God alone is Lord. I shall praise Him forever, I shall bless [Him], I shall have confidence in Him forever and shall not have confidence [in any but Him]. Every tongue shall praise Him, every knee shall bow to Him.

God, the Lord, is true. I pray to God, I worship God, the King, I call upon God's name, I take refuge in God, I am saved by God's help, I live by God's grace, I boast with God's strength, I am

glorified by God's fear, I rejoice by God's divinity, I am made glad by following God. I number the deeds and wonders of God. I admire the greatness and the strength of God's power. I bless God. I praise God I glorify God. I sanctify God. We exalt God with praise.

God is great, God is terrible, God is high, God is honored, God is strong, God is powerful, God is pure, God is holy, God is good, God is just, God is living, God is blessed, God alone was King before the world was, God is King with His patience, God is King of kings, God is King in His mercy, God is King in His grace, God is King above all, God rules all, God has all, God does as He wishes and accomplishes what He plans. God is our Lord and who is like unto Him? God is our Creator. God, Thou alone art the Lord. Before Thee, God, none was, and after Thee none will be, save Thee. Thy name is God. He is and He will be. Lord of Abraham, Lord of Isaac, Lord of Jacob. God is long suffering, abundant in mercy and just. Thou alone art the Lord, the Creator of everything. I shall ever pray to Thee. I shall eternally worship and praise Thee alone, and all creatures shall worship and praise Thee. Amen, amen.

23. *A Song, a Psalm.* O Lord, who is like unto Thee? Men and angels know not His terrible advice, God's advice, and who will be able to picture God's wisdom, and who will know His thought? Who are God's advisers and who resembles God? Who is a Lord like our Lord? God is in everything; in the heavens above, on the earth below, in the waters below the earth. There is none save Him. Amen, amen, the Lord of Israel. Thou reignest alone since before the world was, and eternally. All creatures shall praise Thee and bless Thee: the heavens with everything that is in them; the sea,³³ the dry land, and the depths of the abyss with everything that is in them. They will defer to His praise. Thou, God, art strong in Thy ³⁴ strength, Thou art powerful, Thou art high, Thou art honored and terrible. Who is Lord like Thee, God, and who is Creator save Thee? Thou art just, God. Thou alone art God.

God vanquishes everything. He creates everything. God is living. He is and will be. I, Thy servant . . .

24. Blessed be God, the Lord of Israel. I shall rejoice in God's divinity and shall say: "He is my Lord; I shall praise the Lord of my fathers and shall exalt God; He crushes the enemy and His name is God."

Again I shall say: "Who is a great Lord like God, and who is God save our Lord? Therefore David says: 'The one who lifted me up from the gates of death so that I may tell His praises in the gates of the daughter of Zion.' Praises await Thee in Jerusalem."

I shall also say: "I shall put my hope in God, the desire of my heart, so that He grant me the blessing of Adam, Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, and of all the chosen; the blessing of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the trees of God's Paradise; the blessings of Moses, Aaron, and of all the prophets; the blessings of the cherubim, of the seraphim, and of all the angels. As David says: 'Blessed is the man who fears God and who strongly desires His commandments. He will have a powerful seed upon earth, a generation of just. They will be blessed. Glory and riches will be in His house, His justice will abide forever. Blessed is the man whose helper is the Lord of Jacob and whose confidence rests upon God. Blessed are those who fear God and those who walk in His ways. Blessed is the man who believes in His name.'"

25. Hallelujah. Praise God, as Isaiah says: "As God is with me none will hold me back." As David says: "When I walk in the shadow of death I shall not fear evil, for Thou art with me." He also says: "It is better to trust in God and to praise Thy high name." Therefore we shall not fear when the earth shakes and the mountains sink into the heart of the sea. My heart will not be frightened for I trust in Thy name. I shall not fear the roaring lion, for I trust in Thy name, Lord of Daniel, the tamer of lions, with His power. I shall not fear because I trust in God, [the Lord] of Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael whom He saved from the

flames of the fiery furnace; He cooled off the flames like dew.³⁵
Thy deeds are very blessed and wonderful.

26. Hallelujah. Praise God. First He created Adam and brought him into Paradise. Abel was killed by Cain, by iniquity. As God says: "The vengeance of the blood of Abel arrived unto me." Therefore David says: "Fight against them that fight against me."

Then Enoch was born; he was the seventh after Adam. He pleased God and was hidden from the face of death because God took [?] him. Thus hide me, Thy servant . . .

Hallelujah. Praise God. Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord and was saved from the waters of the flood with his children and his wife. Thus save Thy servant . . .

Abraham was faithful to God, and the covenant of Heaven and earth was made with him. He was named Father of many peoples. Therefore David says: "What He agreed with Abraham He swore to Isaac and established as testimony for Jacob. Isaac was pure and the servant of God, and his father raised him as an offering to God, and God brought down in his stead a pure sheep." Thus save me, God, Thy servant . . .

Jacob, Israel, was distinguished as a precious stone among the peoples, and he was named after his Lord. He saw a golden ladder (coming out) of the earth and reaching to Heaven. Thy deeds, O Lord, are very wonderful and blessed.

27. Hallelujah. Praise God, because Thou art great, strong, powerful, the King of kings, the Lord of lords. Who among all the gods in Heaven and on earth is like unto Thee? All creatures shall glorify and praise Thee.

Moses and the congregation sang God's praises when Israel crossed the Red Sea, and they said: "We praise God who is deserving of being praised."

Miriam, too, the sister of Aaron, sang with the daughters of Israel about the drowning of Pharaoh and his armies, and about the coming of the people [of Israel] out of the sea, and they said "God's deeds are wonderful; He threw horse and horseman into the sea."

David, too, sang, praising God for He saved him from Saul.³⁶
The children of Korah sang. Deborah, too, sang upon the death of Sisera. Now and eternally the name of God shall be blessed.

28. Hallelujah. God helps me as David says: "I shall bless God at all times; His praise is forever in my mouth. My soul is glorified by God. I shall rejoice in Thee, in Thy salvation. My soul will be made glad in my Lord and Savior."

O Lord, Thy deeds are great. God is merciful and gracious, long suffering, abundant in mercy and just. Lord, I am Thy servant and spoil not the creation of Thy hands. O Lord, remember the covenant of Thy beloved Abraham, the covenant of Thy servant Isaac, and the covenant of Thy saint Jacob, Israel, whom Thou didst distinguish from all peoples and didst name him with Thy holy and most high name. God, remember the covenant of Thy faithful Moses whom Thou chocest as guide for Thy people, during the day with the cloud and at night with the light of the fire.

29. Hallelujah. Praise God. O Lord, remember the covenant of Thy servant David who found grace in Thine eyes, whom Thou didst anoint with the holy oil so that he might be [leader] of the children of Israel. O God, remember the covenant of all these saints.

I, Thy servant, the son of Thy female servant, whence can I flee from Thy spirit, and whence can I flee from Thy face? If I ascend to [Heaven] Thou art there; if I descend to the depths there art Thou; if I take wing like an eagle and fly to the ends of the sea, there Thy hand guides me and Thy right hand places me. Who resembles Thee among the gods, O Lord? There is nothing like Thy great and wonderful deeds. Thy name is merciful³⁷ and gracious; Thy mercy is pleasant; Thy remembrance is good;³⁸ Thy existence is hidden while Thou fillest all and Thy grace is not visible to all. Heaven is Thy throne, the earth Thy footstool; the sea is Thy knowledge and the wind obeys Thee; the sun and the moon are appointed by Thy word; all the stars stand by Thy commandment and the whole world is in Thy hands.

30. Hallelujah. Praise God. Again we shall glorify and praise Thee, O Lord, possessor of the whole world, who reignest over all. The hosts of Heaven shall praise Him, the angels and the archangels will laud Him, all creatures shall pray unto Thee. The angels of Heaven, who sleep not and who slumber not, each of them in his kind will praise Him; the angels according to their substance, the lords according to their greatness, the governors according to their honor, the thrones according to their height, the powerful according to their kind, the chiefs according to their charge, Michael with his wings, Gabriel with his breast, the seraphim in their holiness, and the cherubim in their sanctity. Those who support His throne will cover their faces with their wings; the seraphim who stand around His throne will shout, saying: Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts, the perfect. The earth and Heaven are full of the holiness of Thy praises.³⁹ Those great in life, holy, and those having four faces and six wings shall carry His throne of fire and shall worship the one who exists and ever will exist. We shall glorify Thee and sanctify Thy power, pray to Thy name at all times, and at every hour we shall glorify Thee and praise Thee.

31. *A Song, a Psalm.* As Thou didst preserve us through the whole night and didst make us attain the light of day, preserve us, O Lord, in salvation and in peace, without sin and temptation, Thou that possessest mercy, God our Lord. Pray to the Lord, our King, the most high God, the merciful and gracious God, the long suffering, the abundant in mercy, and the just. We glorify and praise Thee. All the hosts of Heaven praise Thee, the angels laud Thee, and all the creatures pray unto Thee. We glorify Thee, we sanctify Thee, our Father, our Lord, our God, our Creator.

Remember, O Lord, the prayer of each of them; preserve their women; help their children; cleanse the unclean; deliver the broken; gather together the dispersed, as David says: "God looked from Heaven upon the earth to listen to the cry of those who are in fetters and to revive those who are appointed for death." Therefore we ask Thee, O Lord, and we beg of Thee. We are appointed for death: some die in the sea, others by the precipice, some by the

sword, others by the lance or by hunger. Our fathers were sold for (the price of) the trees of the plain [?], descended from Rome to Persia; like Joseph who was sold in days gone by, mistreated by his brothers, and made a slave in Egypt, being put in charge of the prisoners.

32. *A Song, a Psalm.* As David says: "God who gives grace and justice to the oppressed, the merciful and gracious, the long suffering, abundant in mercy, and just." Therefore, O Lord, remember us who are appointed for death, whom they took captive and prisoners like cattle, and whom they slew like sheep. We cried to God, our Creator, and when we were desolate the Lord listened to our prayers.

33. *A Song, a Psalm of Isaiah.* As David says. "God brought to mind His covenant before those who took them prisoners." Therefore God gave the land as inheritance, a land flowing with milk and honey, to us who are small, and to the Falāsyān.⁴⁰ And now, God, let us sing [Thy praise] in the assembly.

34. *A Song, a Psalm.* Hearken, O Lord, to my prayer. We shall praise God who is deserving of praise. Thy deeds, O Lord, are very great; Thou doest with Thy wisdom as Thou wishest, and Thou accomplishest what Thou plannest; Thou bindest up the waters in the clouds⁴¹ and Thou lettest the rain descend from Heaven to feed all creatures

Zerubabel says: "God will help me. Blessed be His name in praise. Holy and blessed is my Lord. We shall glorify Thee, O Lord, and praise Thee who didst save me, Thy servant, the son of Thy captivity." I shall admire Thy deeds, O Lord, forever, the first without beginning and the last without end, great in His essence, strong in His deeds, wise in His counsel. There is none like unto Him, the rule of His voice is patient. His name is more terrible than the terrible, higher than the high, stronger than the strong, more honored than the honored. He sits in Heaven and knows the depths of the sea. There is no other glory⁴² near Thee. Heaven

is Thy throne and the earth Thy footstool. None can deliver from Thy hand. My heart is very affrighted, my soul is disturbed, and I am torn from head to foot. Then I sing, "Be Thou for me . . ."

35. The prophet said to God: "How shall I escape from this eternal oppression, against which none can guard himself, that the tongue cannot express. No lying words can profit before Him and Heaven will not be pure ⁴³ in His sight." His right hand is strong, His throne is of fire, and the power of His word is patient. The terrible, there is no end to the length of His days. Who is like unto Thee? There is no limit to the width of Thy judgment. There is no respect of person with Thee and no regard in judgment. He does not put to shame the wealthy ⁴⁴ and does not chase the poor from before His face. He sees the hidden and the open things and perceives things up to the last breath. He made the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth. There is no limit to His divinity and nothing is hidden from His thoughts. None of the angels know His thought, and the terrible angels bow to the commandment of His voice. Then God will go down with His praise and will gather together all the creatures in the twinkling of an eye. Those who despise justice will tremble before His majesty . . . He will seek neither controversy nor a sharp tongue . . . the day of retribution.⁴⁵

36. Hallelujah. Praise God. God took dust from the earth and made Adam after His likeness; He put him into the garden, and then He created Eve, after taking a rib of his ribs, to be his wife. Then Abel, Seth, and Jared were born and Enoch pleased God. Methuselah was born and God gave him a long life. Noah was born, the waters of the deluge came, and he was saved.

Hallelujah. Praise God. Then were born Shem, Japheth and Ham; then Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they were faithful to God. Then were born Moses, Aaron, Eleazar, and Phinehas, the High Priest; then Joshua, Caleb, Baruch, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, and Gilead, and all the books [?] of Samuel, priest and prophet. And great was the kingdom of David and

Solomon and of all the kings of Judah and Israel, the first and the last, those who knew death and feared sin . . .⁴⁶ Then spoke prophets like the priest Elisha, zealous for the law of his Lord; he sealed the heavens that there be no rain for three years and six months. And Elisha received a double portion from his master.

Hallelujah. Praise God. Isaiah had a stronger voice than all the prophets of Israel, and Jeremiah, the son of Chilkiah, the priest and prophet, had a sweet voice. Ezra and Sutā'el⁴⁷ saw a vision,⁴⁸ and when the city of Israel fell and the children of Zion were taken prisoners, they mourned and cried.

37. Jonah, the son of Amittai, received the order to preach to the people of Nineveh. Zechariah, the son of the priest Berekiah; Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, were called watchmen unto the house of Israel in the land of Babylon at the river Kobar. Habbakuk, son of Dakor [?], marveled and said: "O Lord, I heard the noise and was frightened."

Daniel was called Belteshazzar [?]; he grew up in the holy spirit and he knew the interpretation of hidden dreams.

Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael, the children of the kings of Judah, disobeyed the commandment of the king to worship the idol. The king became angry and threw them into a fiery furnace which the people of Babylon heated with lime and pitch,⁴⁹ but they were not consumed, and the flame did not touch even a hair of their heads.

God will help me and all creatures will bless the King of praise. Zerubabel was of the children of the king of Judah, a just and blessed branch of the house of David. He built a house to the Lord of Israel and finished it in forty-seven years.

All these then lay down and slept. (Therefore) do not trust the world and remember those who went before.

Know, O my soul, the terrible judgment: a terrible worm that will not sleep and a fire that will not be quenched. Woe unto thee, for the angels of darkness await thee, the hosts of Hell. Be gracious to Thy servant . . .

38. Hallelujah. When the cycles of the world are finished there will be agitation in each country: hunger, thirst, and pestilence. The wise and the intelligent shall die, fasting shall be no more, the first day of the month and holidays⁵⁰ will not be reckoned, Sabbaths and holidays will not be reckoned. Then Elijah will come and will restore all things. He will preach for fifty-three years and the heavens and the earth will be consumed; the sun, the moon, and the stars will fall from Heaven and God will go down with all His angels and will say to Michael: "Rise and blow the trumpet on Mount Sinai, on the mountain of Zion, the holy city." The angels surround him with praises; He is their chief and leading angel; Michael is his name. His eye is that of a dove, his robe is of lightning, he alone is their guide. Then the dead will be resurrected in the twinkling of an eye by Michael's word.⁵¹ Thus those from afar will bow down to the holy, and the near angels will bow down to God; they shall fear Him. God [will change] Heaven and earth like a garment and will gather together all creatures in the twinkling of an eye while they cry bitterly. The just will be separated from the sinners and the pure from the unclean. They (will bring) two oxen, one from the east and one from the west; the name of the one is Grace and the name of the other is Pity. They will slaughter them with their hands and they will be [rent] for salvation. David will sing [and play on] his harp, and Ezra will praise. They will send away the sinner so that he will not see God's praise. Then the just will sit down at the heavenly table, and they will enter into life. Bring me, too, Thy servant, into the heavenly meal. Be gracious unto me, Thy servant Zerubabel, together with my father and mother, eternally. Amen.⁵²

NOTES

Introduction

- 1 On the various names given to the Falashas, see Aescoli, pp. 1-3
- 2 J Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile in the Years 1768 . . .* (Edinburgh, 1790).
- 3 See Bibliography
- 4 See J Richter, *History of the Protestant Missions in the Near East* (1910), pp 376-377, 382-386, and 391-411 *passim*.
- 5 See Bibliography.
- 6 H. Nahoum, "Mission chez les Falachas d'Abyssinie," *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, Ser 3, No. 33 (1908), 100-137
- 7 See Bibliography.
- 8 W Leslau, "A Year of Research in Ethiopia," *Word*, 4 (1948), 212-225.
- 9 *margam*, "malediction," from the Ethiopic root *rgm*, *goḡo* is an Ethiopic word for "hut", *dam* is Semitic *dam*, "blood"
10. *yaras*, from *ya-aras*, "of woman in childbed," from Geez *xaras*, "woman in childbed," Amharic *aras*
- 11 For Ethiopic customs, see C H Walker, *The Abyssinian at Home* (London, 1933).
12. From the Ethiopic and Semitic root *gʒr*, "cut"
- 13 From Amharic *fatta*, "divorce," from the original meaning of the Semitic root *ftḥ*, "free, untie, open"
14. From the Semitic root *zkr*, *ḏkr*, "remember"
- 15 The word seems to be of Cushitic origin.
- 16 W Leslau, "A Falasha Religious Dispute," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 11 (1947), 71-95, see especially, Excursus 3, "Did the Falashas Speak Hebrew?" pp. 89-94
- 17 From Arabic *masḡid*.
18. From the Semitic root *qds*, *qđš*, "be holy"
- 19 Amharic *arrafa*, "take a rest", Geez *'a'rafa*
- 20 On the Aramaic origin of the Ethiopic *kāhēn* and Arabic *kāhīn*, see Noeldeke, *Neue Beiträge zu semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p 36.
21. Amharic and Geez, of probable Greek origin, see A Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicæ*, col. 1106
- 22 *tállēq* is the Amharic word for "big," from the Geez root *lhq*.
23. *qes* is the Amharic word for "priest," coming from Geez *qasī*, the Geez root and the Arabic *qissī* derive from Aramaic *qasīšā*
- 24 A word of Greek origin
- 25 In the province of Begemder, north of Lake Tana
- 26 It is the Aramaic 'abba.
27. Geez *q^wērban*, Arabic *qurbān*, derived from Hebrew-Aramaic *qorban*
28. D. Lifchitz, "Un sacrifice chez les Falachas, Juifs d'Abyssinie," *La Terre et la vie*, 9 (1939), 116-123

29. Literally "circle, round place," from the Geez root 'wā, "surround," Semitic 'wā, Arabic 'āda, "return", Hebrew 'ōd, "more, again."
- 30 From the Geez root *su'* (šw'), "offer"
- 31 Geez *salot*, Arabic *salāt*.
- 32 From Aramaic 'orayṣa
33. The Geez is *bā'al*, the Amharic *bal*
- 34 From the root *sama* "to fast", Arabic *sāma*, probably from Aramaic
- 35 *yačaraqa* is composed of the particle *ya*, "of," and of *čaraqa*, "moon" (Amharic), for *bal*, see above, n 33.
- 36 From the Semitic root 'sr ('šr), "ten"
37. From *asr*, "ten," and *hulat*, "two," from the Semitic root *kl'*. Hebrew *ḳil'ayim*, etc.
- 38 *asra ammēst*, from *asr*, "ten," and *ammēst*, "five" (Hebrew *hameš*, Arabic *xams*).
- 39 *jasikā* beside *ḳēsēh* = Hebrew *pesah*.
- 40 Amharic words.
- 41 From the Geez root 'arara, "to harvest."
- 42 *yā-sanbat sanbat*, literally, "of Sabbaths the Sabbath", *zabarabu'*, from *za*, "of," *ba*, "in," *rabu'*, "four, fourth" The other sources state that this festival is celebrated on the fourth Sabbath of the fifth moon As a matter of fact, the root *rb'* of *zabarabu'* means "four," but my informants gave me the "third Sabbath."
- 43 *asartu*, "ten", *samanu*, "eight."
44. *bērhan*, "light," is Geez, from the Semitic root *brh*, *bhr* (Hebrew *bahr*, "light, clear"), *sarraqa*, "to appear," is the Amharic form for the Geez *saraqqa* (Arabic *šaraqqa*, "appear")
45. For *tazkar* see above, n 14
- 46 For *bā'al* see above, n 33, *masallat*, "tabernacle," is the Geez word from the root *sl*, "throw shade" (Hebrew *sel*, Arabic *zill*).
- 47 See above, n. 41
- 48 See above, n. 34
- 49 This is the Amharic word for "Thursday," from the Semitic root *xms* (*hmš*), "five" See above, n. 38
50. The root of *astar'is* is *r'y*, "to see." The actual expression for the Day of Atonement is *astarēyo* from the root *sry*, "to forgive" By contamination with the root *r'y*, "to see," the Day of Atonement is also called *astar'ayo*, *astaryo* or *astar'is*, "vision" On the confusion between *'astaraya* and *'astar'aya* in the Ethiopic manuscripts see also A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicæ*, col 347 A wrong interpretation is given in Aescoli, p 67
51. From the Geez root *ta-mahlala*, *ta-mahlala*, "supplicate"
52. Literally, "of repentance father," that is, "father of repentance", for *ya-see* above, n. 35, *nēssēha*, "repentance," from the Geez root *nassēha*, "to repent", *abbat* is the Amharic word for "father"
- 53 For the Ethiopic literature see E Littmann, "Geschichte der äthiopischen Literatur," *Geschichte der christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, ed C Brockelmann (Leipzig, 1907), pp 185-270, J M. Harden, *An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature* (London, 1926), I Guidi, *Storia della letteratura etiopica* (Rome, 1932)
- 54 Aescoli, pp 83-120

- 55 Aescoli, "Yēhude habbaš bassifruḡ ha'ibrūṡ," *Zion*, 1st year, 3 (1936), 316-336, 1st year, 4 (1936), 410-435.
56. For a general history see E A Budge, *A History of Ethiopia* (London, 1928)
- 57 From the Amharic root *naḳḳa*, "touch"
- 58 C Conti Rossini, "Piccole note falascia," *Annuario di studi ebraici*, 1 (1935-37), 110-111, Leslau, "A Falasha Religious Dispute," *loc. cit.*, p. 79
- 59 Leslau, "A Falasha Religious Dispute," *loc. cit.*, pp 71-95.
- 60 See above, p. xxxv.
- 61 To cite only Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p 58 See also, Troje, *Sanbat*, p. 332
- 62 C Rathjens, *Die Juden in Abessinien* (Hamburg, 1921), p. 92 and *passim*, also Conti Rossini, *Appunti*, pp 598 ff

TĒ'ĒZĀZA SANBAT

- 1 For the importance of the Sabbath in the Falasha writings, see also Abba Elijah.
2. Abba Elijah, p. 42.
- 3 See below, p. 16 and n 80
- 4 See below, p 18 and n. 93.
5. See below, n 87.
- 6 See below, pp. 16 ff, 30 ff
- 7 See below, p 16.
- 8 The important fact should be kept in mind that the Sabbath is also celebrated by the Ethiopian church along with Sunday
- 9 It might be interesting to note that in an Ethiopian folksong the Sabbath and Mary are considered mothers of a certain hero, while Michael and Gabriel are his fathers (C Conti Rossini, *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine* [1942], pp 236, 237)
10. See below, pp 27 and 150 n. 189.
- 11 The manuscript is at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. See Conti Rossini, *Notice*, p. 217
- 12 Aescoli, p 93, n 17, speaks of a third manuscript of the Collection Grauale
13. Thus in H
- 14 Thus in H
- 15 Wisdom is the one "that sitteth by" God on His throne (Wisdom of Solomon 9 4). It was with Him when He made the world (*ibid.*, 9:9) See also, I Enoch 84 3, II Enoch 30 8; Prov. 8
- 16 According to Jewish tradition the angels were created either on the first or on the fifth day (*Legends*, 1, 16, 5, 20, n. 61) For the creation of the angels on the first day, see also, Bezold, *Schatzhöhle*, p 1.
- 17 A has 'anābt instead of 'anābēt of H
- 18 *Yējadjēd* in H, A has wrongly *yēraffēd*
- 19 On the hour when Adam was created, see Aptowitz, *Agadoth*, pp 112, 121
- 20 According to some Arabic traditions Adam was created between noon and evening, according to others, in the third hour of the sixth day (R. Gottheil, "Adam," *JE*, 1, 178, Weil, *Biblical Legends*, p 19)
- 20 This corresponds to the Arabic concept that God alone created Adam (Ta-

bari, *Chronique*, 1, 72), and not to the Jewish idea which interprets Gen. 1. 26, "Let us make man . . .," as addressed to helpers.

21. This name is composed of *gērmā*, "majesty," and 'ēl, "God," found in many names of the angels, H has 'Aksā'ēl.

22. This name does not seem to occur in the other accounts of the creation of Adam. It may be a misread form of an Arabic source. There is a form (*qū*) 'adīm, used by Ṭabari, *Annales*, p. 87, when speaking of Adam *xuliqa min 'adīm(in)*, "he was created from earth," and corresponding to Hebrew 'ādāmāh. An expression *qū 'adīm*, read *dū 'adīm* and corrupted into *dudālēm*, would not be impossible. According to Jewish tradition the dust might have been collected from all the earth or from a particular place (Aptowitz, *Agadoth*, p. 121).

23. Probably reflects the Arabic 'ādai, "she took refuge."

24. The earth refused to give dust because it was destined to become cursed through man (*Legends*, 1, 54). The same idea is expressed in Arabic legends (Ṭabari, *Chronique*, 1, 72 ff.).

25. From H.

26. According to H.

27. H has Gērmā'ēl.

28. Taken from H.

29. Bērnā'ēl is explained by Halévy, *Tē'ezāza*, IV, n. 1, as a contraction of *bērhān 'ēl*, "the light of El" (cf. Lucifer). The form *bērnā-* would then reflect an Amharic form. The form *Bērhānā'ēl* also exists (Aescoli, p. 130); Aescoli, p. 126, n. 17, identifies the name with Haza'el of the Book of Enoch. In our text Bērnā'ēl has the same role as Bēryāl, Bērnā'ēl in the Book of the Angels (see below, p. 53), and it is possible that Bēryāl is remodeled into Bērnā'ēl after the numerous names of angels and devils ending in 'ēl, "God."

30. The text contains some words which do not yield any meaning.

31. To be read *dēngāga* as in H instead of *dēngādē* as in A.

32. The text is slightly corrupt.

33. The text is slightly corrupt.

34. For the creation of Adam in Jewish legends, see *Legends*, 1, 52 ff., V. Aptowitz, "La Création de l'homme d'après les anciens interprètes," *REJ*, 75 (1922), 1-15, *Agadoth*, pp. 112-128. According to some Jewish sources the band of the archangel Michael advised God not to create Adam and was consumed by fire except for its chief Michael. The same thing happened to the band of Gabriel. But the band of Labbiel, taught by the horrible fate of its predecessors, yielded to God's wishes, and Labbiel had his name changed to Raphael (*Legends*, 1, 53-54). The source of the Falasha legend however is the Arabic legend according to which Gabriel went to fetch dust from the earth from the place where the present Ka'aba is situated. The earth refused to give its dust, fearing that it might be cursed because of man. Gabriel withdrew and the same thing happened to Michael, but Izra'el, the Angel of Death, was not afraid of the earth and brought the dust (Ṭabari, *Chronique*, 1, 72 ff., and others).

35. To be read *g^wadalo* as in H.

36. On the fight of Michael against Bērnā'ēl and his hosts, see below, p. 32.

37. The text has a negation.

38. It is obscure why God threw Bērnā'ēl down to earth. According to Jewish and Moslem legends Satan was jealous of the first man and did not want to show

reverence and pay homage to him (Adam and Eve, Secs. 13 ff.; *Legends*, 1, 62). According to II Enoch 29. 4-5, the fall of Satan took place because he was jealous of God

39 That Adam was created by God's hand is a thought found in both Jewish and Christian sources (*Legends*, 1, 50; 5, 63).

40. The last two sentences are repeated.

41 The text reads, "He said to him "

42 See below, p 25. The Arabic legend, too, knows that Adam was created from earth, clay, dust, and slime (Ṭabari, *Chronique*, 1, 75).

43. According to Jewish and Moslem legends, Adam remained formless for eighty days Thereupon God gave him a human form but without a soul. He remained in this condition for 120 years. It was only then that God blew into him the spirit of life (Aptowitz, *Agadoth*, p. 115; Grunbaum, *Neue Beitrage*, p. 12).

44. According to the Agada, Hell was created on the second day (*Legends*, 1, 13; 5, 19)

45. This sentence is repeated.

46 According to H.

47 The text here and elsewhere has 'Ēlyās H has 'Ēlsā. It reflects, perhaps, the Greek Elysium

48 "Garden of Pleasure" is a translation of the Hebrew *gan 'eden*.

49. According to H. See also p. 38, where we read that Adam "had completed forty days in the land wherein he had been created."

50 Paradise was such that it was not necessary for Adam to till the soil (*Legends*, 1, 71, 5, 31-32; A Jelinek, "Seḏer gan 'eden," *Beḏ Hammidrāš* [1853], 2, 52-53).

51. This idea is fully developed in Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs in which Beliar and the spirits of Beliar were given power over the sinner See also, Book of the Angels, p. 53.

52 This is an allusion to the last days when "the worm sleeps not and the fire is not quenched " See below, pp. 16, 28.

53 The text is corrupt.

54. See above, n. 49.

55. The text is supplemented according to Gen 2 21

56. The text has here *wamalayālyāta*, "and articulations "

57 In *Jubilees* 3. 17 the serpent came on the seventh day of the second month.

58 See Gen 3. 1-7.

59. H has 'Ēldā See also nn. 47, 66.

60. This seems to correspond to Eden; cf. Gen. 3. 24

61 The text has "their "

62. See also below, p 35. The allusion in these passages is probably to the manna which was thought to have been ground by the angels. Manna was also called the "bread of the angels", it will be set before them in the future world (*Legends*, 3, 33, and especially 6, 17, in various notes).

63. The text has "your."

64. The text has "their "

65. This probably has a connection with the legend that the earth was also guilty of various misdemeanors and that it too had to suffer a tenfold punishment One of them was that it had to wait to be watered by the rains from above.

66. Also in *Jubilees* 3 32. Charles, *ibid*, p. 29, n 32, questions whether 'Ēldā is not a corruption of the Hebrew *moleḏah*, so that "land of 'Ēldā" would mean "land of nativity" Beer, *Buch der Jubilaen*, p. 15, speaks of Eldad but without further explanation.

67. Also *Jubilees* 4 10. The names of the sons are given by Philo, *Biblical Antiquities* (trans. M R James, 1917), p. 76. This notion is unknown in the Agada.

68. Gen 5 6 ff

69. The text has Hēnos.

70. This refers to Enoch's translation to Heaven (I Enoch 70 1-4, II Enoch 67 2).

71. See *Jubilees* 4 23, where the text adds that "there he writes down the condemnation and judgment of the world."

72. This is probably a Christian element.

73. Gen 2 1-3

74. In Hell Moses sees the sinners who profaned the Sabbath and the holy days (M Gaster, "Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise," *JRAS* [1893], p 582).

75. Isa 66. 24, Apoc Paul, Sec 42 (James, p. 547)

76. The text has the negation 'i-.

77. *Legends*, 2, 311, 3, 240.

78. The text is corrupt

79. This reflects the appellations "Queen" and "Bride" found in agadic writings.

80. "It is the Sabbath of the Lord" (Lev. 23 3) Philo, "A Treatise of the Cherubim," Sec 26, *The Works of Philo Judaeus* (trans C. D. Yonge [London, 1854]), 1, 197, also says, "And on this account, too, Moses calls the Sabbath, which name being interpreted means 'rest,' the Sabbath of God." See also, Troje, *Sanbat*, pp 347 ff.

81. For the Festival of the New Moon, see *Jubilees* 6 23-28, Amos 8 5, and "New Moon," *JE*, 9, 243-244 According to the Falashas themselves, "Moise ordonne de faire le *q^uerbān* ou sacrifice de froment avec l'agneau d'un an, et nos prêtres font ces deux sacrifices à chaque nouvelle lune et à chaque grande fête L'adjonction du vin est ordonnée par Moise, si nous en manquons, nous employons la bière" (Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p. 54)

82. The seventh Sabbath is greatly honored by the Falashas (Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, pp. 48-49, Aescoli, pp 30-31) The Samaritans, too, honor the seventh Sabbath (H Petermann, *De Legibus Samaritanorum*).

83. To be read *yāstasī* according to H

84. See below, p. 20

85. For the rewards promised to those who observe the Sabbath, see also, *Legends*, 3, 47, and *passim*

86. The text has "at the ninth hour of the evening of Friday"

87. That the sinners leave Hell on the Sabbath and are not punished on that day is well known in Jewish writings (M Gaster, "Orhoḥ hayyim," *JRAS* [1867], p 604. "on the eve of the Sabbath, the sinners are led to two mountains of snow where they are left until the end of the Sabbath, when they are taken back and returned to their former places"), see also, A. Jellinek, *Beḥ Hammidrāš* (1853), 1, 74, 148, *Legends*, 4, 201, 5, 112 For more rabbinical material see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4, 1076, 1082-1083; I. Lévy, "Le Repos sabbatique des âmes damnées," *REJ*, 25, 1-15 Troje, *Sanbat*, p 336, sees here a gnostic influence. The

same belief is found in some Christian sources which state that the souls rest on Sunday, and in Moslem eschatology, which says that the souls rest on Friday (Asin, *Islam*, pp 223 ff., see also, Arturo Graf, *Miu, leggende e superstizioni del Medio Evo* [1892], 1, 241 ff.).

88 This may also reflect the Christian idea that the souls of the damned rest on Sunday. We read, however, in J A Eisenmenger, *The Traditions of the Jews* (1734), 2, 281 "It is recommended that one leave a table covered with provisions and decent furniture, to stand, as in readiness for company, till Sunday morning."

89. The whole passage is translated according to H.

90. I Enoch 46 6, Apoc Peter, Akhm. Fr, Sec 25 (James, p. 509). For the rabbinical literature, see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4, 1076, 1080.

91 Some obscure words follow

92 An obscure passage follows

93 I Enoch 62 16, Asc Is 8 26, 9 8, 11 14

94. The face shining as the sun and the stars is well known in apocryphal writings II Enoch 66 7, II Baruch 51 10, IV Ezra 7. 97, 125.

95 Mediation and intercession are known themes in all faiths see A J Maclean, "Intercession," *Enc Rel Ethics*, 7, 382-385. For the Old Testament see instances such as Job 5 1; 33 23; Zech. 1. 12, etc. On mediation in the apocryphal writings see Volz, *Eschatologie*, index under "Furbitte," and W. O E Oesterley, *Jewish Doctrines of Mediation* (1910). The Sabbath as mediator seems to be a specific Falasha element; cf "Un Falacha disait à M. d'Abbadie: 'Marie est la médiatrice des chrétiens, notre médiateur est le Samedi'" (Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p. 47). For Ugaritic see now J Obermann, "How Daniel Was Blessed with a Son," *JAOS*, Offprint Series, No. 20 (1946), pp 13, 28 f

96. Baruch, p. 65. The text has a negation

97 The passage is corrupt.

98 Sib Oracles, 5 345 See also, Volz, *Eschatologie*, pp 318 ff

99 Allusions to the throne of God are found in the Old Testament (Ps. 9 5, etc) and in the apocryphal literature (Volz, *Eschatologie*, p. 276), but nowhere are twelve thrones mentioned. Halévy, *TĒ'Ēzāza*, p 141, n 1, suggests that this number corresponds to the twelve tribes of Israel. However, twelve thrones of the apostles occur in the New Testament (Luke 22 30) and are also mentioned in the Book of Bartholomew (p 185).

100 A very interesting passage and difficult to interpret Halévy, *TĒ'Ēzāza*, p 141, n 2, explains it the following way "Peut-être Sanbat signifie: 'Je suis Dieu' (c'est-à-dire En acceptant le Sabbat, vous m'acceptez comme votre Dieu), ce n'est pas le jour qui dit 'Je suis Dieu,' c'est Dieu qui dit cela de lui-même. Cette remarque semble vouloir empêcher la déification réelle de Sanbat" See also, Abba Elijah, p 25.

101 The text is somewhat obscure.

102. Taken from H.

103 Halévy, *TĒ'Ēzāza*, p 142, translates, "L'homme mortel et formé de poussière a été vaincu," and adds, "Il est impossible de méconnaître le caractère spirituel et décidément antichrétien de cette profession de foi mise dans la bouche des anges"

104 *Jubilees* 50 6 ff

105 Exod 20 9-10

106. Exod 35·2.
107. On the Falasha rules concerning the Sabbath see Aescoli, pp. 30-39; for the rules observed by the Zadokite sect see Ginzberg, *Jüdische Sekte*, pp. 152 ff.
108. This is not recommended by Jewish law but is practiced by the Karaites and Samaritans (Beer, *Buch der Jubilaen*, pp 53-54); for the Falashas see Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p. 46. See also, F. Bohn, *Der Sabbat im Alien Testament* (1903), pp. 77-80; *Jubilees*, p. 259, n 8.
109. "Dès que l'aurore de samedi a paru on ne parle qu'à demi voix" (Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p 45). Speaking loud, making noise, and playing music are prohibited on the Sabbath, for the passages in talmudic literature see E. G. Hirsch, "Sabbath," *JE*, 10, 593.
110. To be read *xasis* instead of *gasis*.
111. *Jubilees* 50 8; Zadokite Work 13 11, it is also forbidden by the Karaites (J. M. Jost, *Geschichte des Judentums*, 2, 304). For the Falashas see Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p. 45.
112. *Jubilees* 2:29; 50·9, Zadokite Work 13 8.
113. Jer 17: 21-22; *Jubilees* 2 30, see also, *Legends*, 4, 133; 6, 327. Several words are obscure
114. To be read *rawiy* as in A instead of *nawim* of H.
115. For Jewish writings on this subject see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1, 611; 2, 202.
116. *Legends*, 6, 70, n. 360; J. L. Baruch, *Sefer haššabbat* (Tel Aviv, 1936), pp. 27-28, where the talmudic and agadic writings are cited.
117. *Legends*, 3, 196, 201, 209, *Jubilees* 50. 10-11
118. *Jubilees* 50·12, derived from Exod. 16. 29. For the Falashas see Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p 45.
119. Exod. 34: 21. Working in the field is one of the thirty-nine principal classes ('*abot*, "fathers") of work prohibited on the Sabbath.
120. *Jubilees* 50: 12; Exod 35 3 It is also forbidden by the Samaritans
121. This occurs in several passages of our text, but a defense of this kind is rather singular.
122. E. G. Hirsch, "Sabbath," *JE*, 10, 592.
123. *Jubilees* 50 12. This is one of the sabbatical offenses.
124. To be read *yěharrēd* instead of *yěhaddēr*.
125. Taken from H. *Jubilees* 50·12.
126. According to H. See also, *Jubilees* 50 12, *Legends*, 4, 374, Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4, 89-91, 95, 98 For the Falashas see also, J. Faitlowitch, *Quer durch Abessinien*, p. 86. Fasting on the Sabbath is allowed only on the Day of Atonement
127. *Jubilees* 50 13.
128. See also below, p 32. "It may be noted that nowhere in the old rabbinical literature is there to be found a trace of the mystical concept of the Sabbath occurring in Philo, "A Treatise on the Life of Moses," Bk. 3, Sec 36, *The Works of Philo Judaeus* (trans C. D. Yonge [London, 1854]), 3, 130 [not Sec. 33 as in *Legends*, 5, 111], according to which this most distinguished day dates not from the creation of the world but from the time when heaven and all the perceptible universe were as yet uncreated. It is only in *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* (1709), sec. 3, that

the Sabbath is counted among the things which existed in the thought of God prior to the creation of the world" (*Legends*, 5, 111)

129. The obscure *qawāmyān*, "they who stand," of H is missing in A.
 130 To be read *hamāyān*
 131 Probably to be read *mērāqomu* as in H instead of *mēsāq* as in A
 132 See also above, p 20, to be read *manbaromu* as in H instead of *manbabomu* as in A
 133 It is recommended that one wash his face and hands on the Sabbath.
 134. Kneading dough and cooking are among the thirty-nine labors prohibited on the Sabbath See above, n 119.
 135 In H all these words are in the negative.
 136. Here H has a text which does not belong to our passage. A repeats some words of the preceding section
 137 Deut 27. 15 ff, and other passages in the Old Testament.
 138 However the text in Deut 27: 20 says, "Cursed be he that lieth with his father's wife, because he uncovereth his father's skirt."
 139 Read *hēsuma* according to H.
 140. The text has "who listens."
 141 A curious and quite obscure legend. Aescoli, p. 95, suspects an Egyptian origin
 142. To be read *mahdaru* instead of *mahdagu*.
 143. Abba Elijah, p. 44.
 144 According to H
 145 According to H.
 146 The text has "of the sea"
 147. According to H
 148. The text has "I brought"
 149. To be read *mēgbāromu* as suggested by Halévy, *TĚ'Ězāza*, p. 146.
 150 According to H Our text has *wa'iyēbataḵ*
 151. Taken from H Apoc Paul, Sec 32 (James, p 543).
 152 H has *qēst* instead of *'ēsāt* as in A. For the name "valley of fire" cf I Enoch 54: 1, "a deep valley with burning fire"; 67 4, "burning valley."
 153 The sentence is obscure.
 154 Exod 31 13
 155. *Ibid*
 156 To be read *'anta* as in H instead of *'ēsāt* as in A.
 157. To be read perhaps *hayādēyān*, "oppressors."
 158. Job 25 4.
 159 The text of A is not clear.
 160 Translated according to H. The text of A is different.
 161. The text has "see"
 162 II Baruch 59: 10, "mouth of Gehenna."
 163 A has "because of the Sabbath."
 164. The text in A has "they will see."
 165 H has here *qēddēst*, which does not yield any meaning.
 166 Prov 10 19 On midrashic and talmudic references see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 3, 753.

167 For exhortation to humility see Sirach 7 4-7

168 According to the Talmud the law of the Sabbath is equal to all the other laws and commandments of the Torah For the several passages, see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1, 905, J. L. Baruch, *Sefer haššabbat*, pp. 242-246

169. H has Rāgu'el Fānu'el is mentioned in I Enoch 40 9 as one "who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life" In I Enoch 54 6 Fānu'el together with Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael casts the hosts of Azazel into the burning furnace, see also, I Enoch 71 8, 9, 13. The name occurs also in I Chron. 4 4, 8 25 A holy day of the archangel Fānu'el is celebrated by the Ethiopians on the 3rd of Tāxsās

170 The same passage occurs in the Prayers of the Falashas All the names of God are variants of 'El, 'Ēlohē Instead of Lohē, H has 'Ēlwāhē H has also (*la*)yolsādēy to be connected with the Old Testament 'el šadday

171. Ps 72. 19, Isa 6 13

172 H has "in their hearts"

173. *Jubilees* 2 3.

174. Exod 34 6

175 According to H.

176. See above, p 13.

177 Cf. the Arabic concept in *Mohammedanische Eschatologie*, ed., M Wolff (1872), p 11.

178. Beginning here the text of H is used. Manuscript A ends on the next folio

179. See above, n 50 Gen. 2 15 states, however, that God put Adam into the Garden of Eden to dress it and keep it, see also, *Jubilees* 2 9

180. The words *xab'o 'ēgzi'ābēhēr* do not seem to yield any meaning.

181 Gen 6 8, 8 21

182 The birth of Abraham "had been read in the stars by Nimrod . and it was manifest to him that a man would be born in his days who would rise against him and triumphantly give the lie to his religion" (*Legends*, 1, 186, Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p 2)

183 Abraham was hidden in the cave in order that he might escape being killed by Nimrod who, like Pharaoh in the story of Moses, ordered all the newborn boys to be killed (*Legends*, 1, 187 ff) For other accounts of Abraham's youth see *Legends*, 5, 209, n. 13, Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, pp 2-31. According to some of the legends Abraham remained in the cave three, ten, or thirteen years (Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p 3), or seven days (*Legends*, 1, 189). In our text the seven years perhaps are actually seven days

184 The text has "intelligence"

185 *Legends*, 1, 189, 212-213; 5, 210, n 16; Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p 3. According to another opinion he attained the true knowledge of God when he was forty-eight years old (K. Kohler, "Abraham," *JE*, 1, 85)

186 According to other legends Abraham put the hatchet in the hand of the biggest god among them (*Legends*, 1, 124, Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p. 12).

187. This is more explicitly explained in *Legends*, 1, 214-215 "Terah said 'Is there spirit, soul, or power in these gods to do all thou hast told me? Are they not wood or stone? And have I not myself made them?'"

188. It is known that Nimrod was a hunter (Gen. 10 9)

189 This corrupt account is to be traced back to an Arabic source as related

in Tabari, *Chronique*, I, 148-150, and in al-Kisā'i, *Vita prophetarum*, I, 140-141. It is summed up in Weil, *Biblical Legends*, pp. 76-77, as follows: "Nimrod resolved to build a lofty tower, wherewith, if possible, to scale the heavens, and to search therein for the God of Abraham. The tower rose to a height of five thousand cubits, but as heaven was still far off, and the workmen were unable to proceed with the building, Nimrod caught two eagles and kept them upon the tower several days, and when they were ravenous with hunger, he fastened to their feet a light, closed palanquin, with one window above and another below, and seated himself in it with one of his huntsmen. The latter took a long spear, to which a bit of flesh was attached, and thrust it through the upper window, so that the famished eagles flew instantly upward bearing the palanquin aloft. When they had flown toward heaven for a whole day Nimrod heard a voice which cried to him 'Godless man, whither goest thou?' Nimrod seized his huntsman's bow, and discharged an arrow, which forthwith fell back through the window stained with blood, and this reprobate man believed that he had wounded the God of Abraham."

190. To be read *yāqēitēl* instead of *'ēqēitēl*

191. The text has "them"

192. Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p. 14, *Legends*, I, 216. For references in Jewish writings alluding to Abraham's having been cast into the fiery furnace see *Jubilees*, note p. 91. "The idea that Abraham was cast into a fiery furnace arose from a literal interpretation of Gen. 15:7. 'I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees,' where Ur was taken to mean 'fire.'" The notion that the wood for the fire was carried by various animals—camels, mules, and donkeys—is mentioned in the Arabic legends (D. Sidersky, *Les Origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran*, p. 32).

193. According to some of the legends it was Gabriel who saved Abraham, according to others it was Michael, still others believe that God himself saved Abraham (*Legends*, 5, 212, n. 33; Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p. 16).

194. The word *tamayta* is not found in the dictionaries. It is perhaps a denominative of *may*, "water," and means "[the fire] became water."

195. This refers to *'ur kasdim* of Gen. 15:7, interpreted as "the furnace of the Kasdim = Chaldees" (Halévy, *Tē'ezāza*, note p. 152; *Legends*, I, 299).

196. The text has "who lets you come"

197. Probably an allusion to Gen. 17:4 where the name of Abram was changed into Abraham.

198. The passage is obscure. See above, where the fire is quenched by the water.

199. The text has "restored me not."

200. The text is obscure.

201. Gen. 22.

202. The word *sēfur* of the text is the Hebrew *sofar*.

203. All the parts of the carcass of the ram were put to use—the ashes, the sinew, the skin, and the horns (*Legends*, I, 283).

204. Everywhere in this section the text has "he" instead of "thou."

205. Perhaps this reflects the notion that Moses supposedly entered Paradise alive (*Legends*, 5, 96).

206. Here follows an obscure passage of several lines. It speaks about someone's blood having been spilled and boiled.

207 Exod 32.

208. The text has "them"

209. 'ana 'a'ammēr should be corrected to read 'ina'ammēr.

210. The powder was mixed with their drinking water (Koran 2. 87) According to Jewish legends Moses threw the powder upon the waters and said, "All that have committed idolatry shall be yours" But the waters were not to be appeased by having the sinners cast into them, and the ocean would not retreat to its bed until Moses made the children of Israel drink of it (*Legends*, 3, 129-130).

211. The water caused the idolators great pain and they called upon Moses for help. Then Moses told them to slay one another.

212. According to Exod. 32: 28 three thousand were killed.

213. Probably reflects the Hebrew 'ir hayyēḥus.

214 The passage is not clear; it refers perhaps to those not included in the two groups mentioned before.

215. The passage is slightly corrupt

216 Some dittographical words follow.

217. See below, p. 36 The view that the Sabbath was "given" by God "to Israel" is common in rabbinical literature, cf. Tos. Beraḳot, 3, 7; B. Šabbat, 10b That the Sabbath was given to Israel "to eat the fruits of the earth" is based upon Isa. 58. 13.

218 "He who honors the Sabbath is like him who honors me on the throne of my glory," says God (Targum Yērušalmi 2, Exod 20: 2)

219 The two tables were created by God's own hand, the writing and the pencils were of heavenly origin (*Legends*, 3, 119).

220. The word *sam'anni* is superfluous

221. "Whoever observes the Sabbath properly, even though he be an idol-worshiper as of the generation of Enosh, is forgiven" (B. Šabbat, 118b).

222. This is part of the preparation for the celebration of the Sabbath.

223 The passage is obscure. The number "forty-nine" occurs in connection with Moses who was in charge of the forty-nine gates of wisdom (*Legends*, 3, 141), Enoch had a crown of forty-nine jewels (*ibid*, 1, 139), the Torah is interpreted in forty-nine ways (*ibid*, 2, 325).

224. The form is corrupt

225. The form is corrupt.

226. The sentence is obscure.

227. Neh. 10: 32; Am. 8. 15; Jer. 17 21-22.

228. Deut. 15: 1 ff; see also, "Sabbatical Year and Jubilee," *JE*, 10, 605-608 Several words of this sentence are obscure Concerning the sabbatical year the Falashas say, "Nous n'observons pas le repos de la septième année parce que nous n'avons pas de patrimoine" (d'Abbadie, "Réponses des Falasha," *Univers Israélite*, 6 [1851], 482-483)

229. See above, p. xxxiii.

230. Lev. 2. 13; *Jubilees* 21 11, Test. Levi 9: 14; Mark 9 49, 50. See also Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 2, 31-32.

231. See here, pp 20, 36.

232 Corrupt—perhaps in lieu of "the tenth day of the first month," for which see Exod 12: 2-3. Note that the tenth of each month is considered a festival by the Falashas (Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p 66, and Introduction, p. xxx).

233 This too probably reflects the Christian belief that sinners have respite on Sunday (see n 87)

234 He is probably identical with Remiel and Ramiel of I Enoch 20. 8; II Baruch 55 3, and other apocryphal writings Box identifies that figure with Jeremiel, Hebrew *Yerahmē'el* (IV Ezra 4 33).

235 Uriel is interpreted as "the fire of God" or "the light of God" (L. Blau, "Uriel," *JE*, 12, 383).

236. For *yěsa'ēwomu* read *yěsa'ēwomu*.

237 The fight of Michael against Bērā'ēl is also mentioned in the beginning of our text (see p 12) The punishment of the fallen angels is developed, with many details, in I Enoch An allusion to the fight of the good angels against the fallen angels is to be found in I Enoch 100. 4. In I Enoch 54. 6 the angels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Fānu'ēl cast the hosts of Azazel into the fiery furnace.

238. This probably refers to the laws of the Sabbath

239. See above, p. 21 and n. 128.

240. Gen. 1 1 ff, *Jubilees* 2: 1 ff.

241. The text has *lak'i'o*, "measuring," and it repeats here "and of the water He made the Heaven with His hands"

242. These names are taken from I Enoch 78. 1-2 where the names are Oryārēs and Tomās for the sun; Asonyā, Eblā, Bēnāsē, and Erā'ē for the moon. The name Bawā'ī is perhaps to be explained by the root *bo'a*, "to enter, set"; Mawā'ī might be an alliteration form of Bawā'ī. It is possible that the names of Bawā'ī and Mawā'ī refer to the moon and not to the sun.

243 Fol 120 of H (Halévy, *TĚ'ĚZĀZA*, p. 39) belongs here.

244 *Jubilees* 2 11-12

245 Gen 1: 28 ff.

246 The author of our text does not enumerate the twenty-two kinds, but *Jubilees* 2: 15, 23, does. For other works see *ibid.*, p. 17, n. 23.

247 *Jubilees* 2: 16-17.

248 For the Angels of Presence see K Kohler, "Angelology," *JE*, 1, 586.

249 I Kings 8 53

250. The text goes back to fol 45r° (Halévy, *TĚ'ĚZĀZA*, p. 32).

251 *Jubilees* 2 19.

252. Read *xarayku* for *horķu*

253 According to *Jubilees* 2 20 See also, Isa. 41 8; 44 1.

254. Exod. 4 22, Ps 89 27.

255 The text has "Days and Sabbaths"

256 *Jubilees* 2: 19 ff

257 Exod 31: 13.

258 *Jubilees* 2: 18.

259. *Jubilees* 2 21 "And He caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days" (*ibid.*, p 17).

260 *Jubilees* 2 20. "There are twenty-two heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob" On this whole problem see *Jubilees*, pp 17-18, n. 23.

261 That is, Jacob Sabbath and Jacob are intimately related Some of the midrashim call attention to the fact that the Bible speaks of the observance of the Sabbath by Jacob but not by Abraham (*Legends*, 5, 313, n 280)

262 For *ba'alu* read *baķwēllu*.

263. *Jubilees* 2 23-24.

264. Gabra Masqal was the second son of Kaleb, the king of Ethiopia, he succeeded his brother Bēta Esrā'ēl probably about 550. He was a devout Christian and endowed the church of Aksum with many estates, Gabra Masqal is also mentioned in Baruch (p. 75).

265. The whole story is obscure and the text seems to be corrupt. Halévy, *Tē'ezāza*, p. 158, n. 1, wonders whether the angels intended to sanctify the Sabbath on the fifth day but God did not agree to it.

266. In other passages Fānu'ēl and Uriel often occur together.

267. The angels praising God is a well-known theme in Jewish writings.

268. On the five or seven heavens see Test. Lev. 2: 7-3 8, I Enoch; Asc. Is., III Baruch. See also II Enoch, pp. xxx-xlvi.

269. The Ethiopic text has Diyāblos

270. For *babbazamanomu* read *babbazēmomu*

271. Bērsēbāhēl occurs also in a Falasha prayer (Aescoli, p. 143). Bērnā'ēl is known as an angel of evil (see above, n. 29) and should not be used as the name of God

272. For manna called "angels' food" see Wisdom of Solomon 16 20, Adam and Eve 4 2.

273. This seems to be the internal plural of the Hebrew 'efo. It reflects the story of the manna as related in Exod. 16 11-16.

274. There are many examples in Jewish literature of angels eating and drinking (*Legends*, 3, 236)

275. For 'iyēt'ābaw read 'iyēt'as(s)aw.

276. Some obscure words follow

277. Num. 28 11 speaks of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven male lambs a year old

278. Here a corrupt passage of several lines follows

279. The Sabbath must not be understood as a cessation from the work of creation but as creation in itself. Everything was created in six days except rest, which was created on the Sabbath (*Legends*, 5, 111).

280. Num. 28. 9-10 speaks, however, of two male lambs a year old.

281. The name is the same as in Exod. 23. 16. In *Jubilees* 6: 17, 21, it is called the "Feast of the Weeks"

282. Lev. 23 11, 16. The Karaites and the Samaritans count the fifty days from the Sunday of the Passover, the Rabbanites from the second day of the Passover, see also, Aescoli, pp. 65-66

283. Cf. the Prayers of the Falashas, p. 140. "The just will sit at the heavenly table", cf. also, "the table of God" in Mal. 1 7, 12, "the table of the Lord" in I Cor. 10 21, Test. Lev. 8 16, "to eat of His table" in Test. Jud. 21: 5. See also, *Jubilees* 31 16, Sir. 45 21

284. The superior character of the seventh day is marked by the circumstance that everything connected with it is twofold, e.g., the double portion of manna (Exod. 16 22), the two lambs (Num. 28 9), the double menace (Exod. 31 14), etc. (E. G. Hirsch, "Sabbath," *JE*, 10, 589).

285. See below, p. 37.

286. See above, p. 19 and n. 100

- 287 Exod. 12 6-9, and *passim*, *Jubilees* 49.
288. An obscure word 'axxi precedes
- 289 Lev. 27 30-33, Num 18 21-26; Deut 14 22-29, see also, O Eissfeldt, *Eislinge und Zehnten im Alten Testament* (1917).
- 290 Some words follow, the meaning of which could be, "Omit not to bring your first fruit"
- 291 The text has here and on the next line "him" instead of "you"
- 292 The passage is obscure
- 293 Cf. similar expressions in Ezek 5 17, 14 13 This passage reflects the curses for the disobedience of the law in Lev 33 14 ff, Deut. 28 15 ff.
- 294 The text is corrupt.
- 295 The text has "with"
- 296 This should probably be "the third Sabbath of the fifth moon" (see Introduction, p. xxxi and n 42).
- 297 One wonders whether the text refers to the arrival of the Messiah or of Christ
298. The text repeats "who neglects Thy commandments."
- 299 *Jubilees* 3 8 ff Several passages of our text are corrected according to the text of *Jubilees* For all these details see *Jubilees*, p 22, nn 8-14.
- 300 Lev 12 2-5
- 301 On the heavenly tables see I Enoch, pp. 91-92, note to 57 3; *Jubilees*, p 24, note to 3 10.
- 302 For *tēwarrēd* read *tēwallēd*
- 303 At present, too, the Falasha woman is unclean for forty days after giving birth but the division is eight and thirty-two (see Introduction, p xv)
304. The idea that the law of Lev. 12. 2-5 is based on the belief that Adam was created at the close of the first week and Eve at the close of the second week reappears in various midrashic works, see *Jubilees*, pp. 22-24, and note to 8-14 On the defilement of women for forty and eighty days according to Abyssinian belief, see Ludolf, *Historia Aethiopica*, pp 3, 6, 36, Ruppel, *Reise in Abessinien*, 2, 51, E Littmann, "Abyssinia," *Enc. Rel Ethics*, 1, 58, Introduction, pp xiv, xv
- 305 Gen 18. 1 ff, *Jubilees* 16 1 ff.
- 306 For *darsā* read *dērs*
307. For "Mamre" the text has "Marmarim"
- 308 Gen. 18. 10; *Jubilees* 16: 1 has "son."
- 309 For *zanagarnāhā* read *wanagarnāhā*.
- 310 Gen 14 2, 8 The text has Labayēm
- 311 Gen 19 24-25
- 312 Gen 20 1, *Jubilees* 16 10 The text has Sēyr instead of Shur.
- 313 *Jubilees* 3 12 has "in the middle of the sixth month"
- 314 Gen. 21 1-4
- 315 The text has "in the middle of the seventh month," but "seventh" seems to be superfluous since according to the preceding line Isaac was born in the third month *Jubilees* 16 12 has "in the middle of the sixth month"
- 316 According to agadic versions Isaac was born on the first or on the fifteenth of Nisan (Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p 46)

317. According to Jewish legends Abraham died in the tenth month; according to the Talmud he died in the first or in the seventh month (Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, pp. 84, 200, n. 921a).

318. Some legends say that Abraham was born during the first month, others that he was born during the seventh month (Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, pp. 1, 100, n. 6).

Abba Elijah

1. These punishments might also describe the time of antichrist
2. M. Bittenwieser, "Apocalyptic Literature," *JE*, 1, 681-682; also, *Elias-Apokalyse*. The Hebrew text is also published in A. Jellinek, "Sefer 'Eliyah," *Beṭ Hammidrāš* (1855), 3, xvii ff. and 65-68, Eisenstein, 'Osar, 1, 26-27. See also, Isidore Lévy, *La Légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine* (1927), p. 156; Aescoli, "Eliyah-Apokalyse," *EJ*, 6, 519-520.
3. G. Steindorff, *Apokalypse Elias*.
4. Aescoli, p. 107.
5. Abba is the title given to Falasha monks; see Introduction, p. xxvi
6. Halévy, *T'ēzāza*, p. xxxiii.
7. So also, Aescoli, p. 106.
8. The Ethiopic word is 'Elyās.
9. Perhaps "Abba Elijah about the City of Rome" as suggested by Aescoli, p. 107.
10. See T'ēzāza Sanbat, p. 11, cf. also, *Jubilees* 2:2, "which He hath prepared in the knowledge of His heart"
11. On the ministering angels (Hebrew *mal'āke haššaret*) see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 3, 680
12. There are several traditions about the day on which the angels were created. According to *Jubilees* 2:2, II Enoch 29:3, II Baruch 21:6, and some of the midrashim, they were created on the first day. According to other midrashim they were created on the second day (Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4, 1084, 1128), according to another opinion they were created as late as the fifth day (*Legends*, 5, 20-21). See also, Aptowitz, *Agadoth*, pp. 116, 126
13. For the angels fashioned from fire see *Legends*, 1, 16, 5, 21, Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1, 977; 3, 601.
14. The text has "the first day He created them"
15. The text has "one foot and two feet"
16. The text has "Sabbaths were created"
17. It refers to the sin committed by her in the Paradise
18. The text has "the Sabbaths."
19. For various rabbinical passages on this subject see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1, 611-615; 2, 202.
20. For gnostic elements in the personification of the Sabbath see Troje, *Sanbat*, pp. 341 ff., 355.
21. See T'ēzāza Sanbat, *passim*, and Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4, 1063, 1067.
22. Originally the name of a population in Ethiopia called Bāryā. Since this

population was considered unclean its name was used for a spirit which was supposed to bring about epilepsy The name of Bāryā is often found together with Lēgēwon See W H Worrell, "Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen," *ZA*, 29 (1914-15), 134, S. Euringer, "Das Netz Salomon's," *ZS*, 6 (1927), 185, 7 (1928), 83, Aescoli, "Les Noms magiques dans les apocryphes chrétiens des éthiopiens," *JA* (1932), p 129

23. Taken from the spirit Legion of Luke 8 30, Mark 5 9 It occurs also under the name of Lagēwon (W. H. Worrell, "Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen," *ZA*, 29, 139)

24. The word is obscure

25 This probably reflects the custom of the Falashas to offer sacrifices in violation of the ordinance accepted by normative Judaism that they were only to be brought at the temple of Jerusalem.

26. Exod 20 3 ff.

27 The text repeats here "worship not other gods." Some words are slightly corrupt

28. Deut. 32 39, I Sam 2 6.

29 Exod. 20. 5, Deut 5. 9.

30. Ps 115 5, 135 15

31 Halévy, *T'ēzāza*, p 166, and Aescoli, p. 122, translate otherwise

32 The text has "to you "

33 The text has "to us "

34. Isa 66 24, Mark 9 44, Apoc Paul, Sec. 42 (James, p. 547).

35. The text has *kīyāya*, "me," which does not belong here.

36 The text is corrupt.

37. The text has "them "

38 The text has "to him "

39 The text has "in darkness "

40 For the idea that Adam was created by the hand of God see *Legends*, 1, 49; 5, 63-64 The text uses the first person here

41. This very interesting legend does not seem to be found in Jewish writings although the folkloristic elements in it are well known to Jewish legend.

42 Gen 3 19

43 To be read *yēwaqqēsomu* instead of *yēqassēmo*

44 Ps 74 17.

45 The doctrine that the world was created for the sake of Israel is well expressed in IV Ezra 6 55, 7 11, II Baruch 15 7, 21 24, 24 18, and elsewhere.

46. The text is slightly corrupt

47. The text has "me "

48. The text is slightly corrupt

49 The following word 'aryān is obscure.

50. The text has "us "

51. To be read *rēšē'kēmu* instead of *rē'ēsakēmu*.

52. Ps 1 1-3

53. Isa 29. 8

54 Ps 144' 4.

55 See *T'ēzāza Sanbat*, pp. 19 and 147 n. 100.

56 The text has "When I am angry on my throne, the heavens, the mountains and the foundation of the earth will be shaken, the hills and all the creatures will tremble at my voice" This passage does not seem to belong here.

57 For the effects of the Sabbath see Tē'ezāza Sanbat, *passim*.

58 Ps 34 13

59 Baruch, p 66, Sl. Enoch 63·1 "When man clothes the naked, and fills the hungry, he will find reward from God"

60 Isa. 58 7 "and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh"

61. On love of strangers, hospitality, see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4, 565-571

62. The text has "thy"

63 Isa 53 12

64. The word 'iyānabū is superfluous

65 Ezek 5 13 ff.

66. To be read *suhāfē* or *sahāfē* [Hebrew *šahēfē*] instead of *susāfē* of the text

67 To be read 'ēqalējakēmu instead of 'ēqalējakēmu.

68 The text has "I shall send to you," which does not seem to belong here

69 This seems to be the logical translation. The text has "You shall not appoint anyone unless I appoint you . . . you shall not judge anyone unless I judge you . . ."

70 To be read *zēnāma* instead of *zēmanā*

71 The text adds "and your commandment."

72. The text has "door"

73 The word (*wa*)*barabēya* is encountered in the whole passage in a quite disorderly manner The sentence could be translated, "A thousand years are for you like one day for me" It is well known that "the day of the Lord is a thousand years" (*Legends*, 1, 61, 5, 128) See also II Peter 3. 8.

74 The text has "my"

75. Tē'ezāza Sanbat, *passim*

76 Baruch, p 69.

77 "Thy neighbor" is required by the context, the text has *yē'bēka* which does not yield any meaning.

78 Baruch, p 67 This passage reflects the idea expressed in the New Testament On the rabbinical passages see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1, 276 ff., in the commentary on Matt. 5 22.

79. The text has "unjust."

80 Ps 37 11, Isa 60 21; I Enoch 5 7, and elsewhere

81 Luke 6 38.

82. On the patience of Job see also Apoc Paul, Sec 49 (James, p 552) It is interesting to note that in the midrashim God remonstrated with Job for his lack of patience (*Legends*, 2, 225, 5, 382).

83 Abraham considered the duty of hospitality more important than the duty of receiving the Shekhinah (*Legends*, 1, 241; 5, 235, 248)

84. Matt 6. 19-20 According to the Jewish standards of ethics such treasures in Heaven can be gathered by the practice of benevolence For this idea expressed in the apocryphal writings see II Baruch 14 12; IV Ezra 7: 77, 8. 33, see also Tos Pe'ah, 4, 18, B Baba Batra, p 11a.

85. Prov 10 2, 11 4, Ezek. 14 14, 20 There are several passages in the Tal-

mud according to which alms are better than sacrifices, almsgiving is a powerful mediator between the Israelites and the Father in Heaven, and it saves from the torments of Hell. Troje, *Sanbat*, p. 340, n. 1, wrongly considers the importance given to alms as non-Jewish.

86. Sir. 3 30.

87 Ps 127 1-2

88. The text has the word "spear" which does not belong here

89 This passage reflects the curses for the disobedience of the law in Lev.

33 14 ff.; Deut. 28 15 ff.

90. The word 'ar'ar is obscure.

91 Büttenwieser, *Ehas-Apokalyse*, pp. 21, 65: "And God shall gather all the birds of the sky and all the animals of the earth, and they will eat the flesh and drink the blood of man."

92. The text has "that you see with your eyes," but this is due to dittography.

93. The text has "you will eat"

94 Amos 5. 22

95 The text has "second."

Book of the Angels

1 See Baruch, p. 63 and n. 20.

2 Justin Perkins, "The Revelation of the Blessed Apostle Paul," *JAOS*, 8 (1864-66), 183-212 On other translations of the Syriac text see Silverstein, *Visio Pauli*, p 219

3 The theme of the temptation of man by evil spirits and his seduction to evil by Bëryäl and the hosts of Bëryäl is fully developed in Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs: Reuben 2 2, 3. 2-6, Judah 16 1, Dan. 1. 7, etc. See below, n. 20

4 See below, p 62

5 See below, p 80

6 The good spirits, human or angelic, are considered the spirits of light (I Enoch 61. 12) We read (*ibid*, 108 11), "spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light"; cf. also, Luke 16. 8 For the spiritual and physical light of salvation and blessing of the just see Volz, *Eschatologie*, pp. 364-366, and I Enoch, note p. 72 Light is opposed to darkness in Test Joseph 20. 2 where God is the Lord of light, Beliar the God of darkness, see also, Test Levi 19. 1. For the contrast cf. also, II Cor 6 15. "And what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial?" The right hand represents the light, the left represents the darkness. Thus in James, *Testament Abraham*, p 124, the angel of the right hand writes down the virtues, and the angel of the left hand writes down the sins (M Gaster, *Texts and Studies*, 1, 112). In the Kabbala, too, the left hand is considered unclean; it is served by the angels of perdition as opposed to the angels of the "holy right."

7. On the angels reporting the deeds of men, see Apoc. Paul, Sec. 9 (James, p 528) Legends of the debate between the angels and the devils for possession of the soul occur also in the Islamic literature. Every soul has one or more angels and devils to guard and tempt it during life At death these angels and devils fight for possession of the soul Often the debate is conducted with the aid of books recording sins and virtues of the souls (Asin, *Islam*, pp. 226 ff.).

8 The text is slightly corrupt.

9 Books of fate and judgment are mentioned in the Old Testament Ps 69 28 (book of the living), Exod. 32. 32 (book written by God), Ps 87 6 (God writes up the people), Ps 139:16, etc. In the apocryphal writings of I Enoch 81: 4, 89: 61-77, 90 7, 20, and especially Volz, *Eschatologie*, pp 290-292, and J A MacCulloch, "Eschatology," *Enc Rel Ethics*, 5, 391^a.

10 For Bērā'ēl see Tē'ēzāza Sanbat, p. 124, n 29 In our text Bērā'ēl has the same role as Bēryāl and Beliar (see below, n. 21). The names are used interchangeably.

11. The weighing of the soul and the deeds of men is found in many eschatologies—Egyptian, Indian, Persian, Mohammedan, and Jewish (J. A. MacCulloch, "Eschatology," *Enc. Rel Ethics*, 5, 390^b). See Volz, *Eschatologie*, p. 293, for the weighing of the souls in the apocryphal writings (see, for instance, I Enoch 41: 1, 43: 2, 60. 12, 61: 18; Sl. Enoch 52: 15, 44 5; James, *Testament Abraham*, pp. 70-72). For the Islamic literature see ASIN, *Islam*, pp. 195-199. Weighing is also used as a metaphor in the Old Testament: Job 31. 6; Dan. 5. 27, Ps. 62. 9, Prov. 16 2.

12. For the description of the tree of life see I Enoch 25. 4 ff, II Enoch 8 3 ff, and elsewhere

13. For the reception of the soul of the righteous see Apoc. Paul, Sec. 15 (James, p. 531). The angels bring the soul of the righteous to Heaven and the soul of the sinner into Hell, James, *Testament Abraham*, p. 42, II Enoch 42. 5; I Enoch 54 2, 62 11; Luke 16 22-23, Matt 13 49-50

14. This is more explicit in the Eth. Apoc. Peter, p. 520 "Their crowns are as the rainbow in the time of rain. (They are perfumed) with nard" See also, Apoc. Peter, Akhm. Frag., Sec. 10 (James, p. 508).

15. According to the Agada Noah inherited the high priestly raiment from Adam. In the days before the creation of the tabernacle all the first-born males officiated as priests (*Legends*, 1, 332). Seth was one of the seven pious men of the pre-Abrahamic period (*ibid.*, 5, 150), and although not the first-born he inherited the priestly raiment from Adam. Abel does not seem to have been a priest.

16. The text has "the fiftieth heaven" which is no doubt a misprint for "the seventh." On the fifth or seventh heaven see Test. Levi 2 7-3·8; I Enoch; Asc. Is; III Baruch For the idea of the seventh heaven as being gnostic see Troje, *Sanbat*, p. 334, n. 1

17 Eth Apoc Peter, p. 517 "They clothe them with the raiment of life that is above." For garment from above see also, Asc. Is., p 36.

18. Possibly this reflects Ezek 9 4, "And set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh . . .", see also, Zadokite Work B 9 11 In the Gnostic Christian Acts of the various apostles "sealing" refers to baptism or a rite of anointing with oil.

19. The Angel of Darkness is probably identical with Sammael who in some respects has the same role as Beliar (see Asc. Is., note p. 7, and especially R. Margulies, *Mal'āke 'elyon*, pp 248-270), but in some cases Sammael appears to be the subordinate of Beliar. Thus in Asc Is 1 8 he asserts himself to make Manasseh the subject of Beliar

20. See also, Apoc. Paul, Secs. 11, 15 (James, pp. 529, 533). The evil spirits tempt and seduce man. They are the personification of the evil propensities of

man. This idea is clearly expressed in the Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs: "Seven spirits therefore are appointed against man" (Test. Reuben 2 2); "the spirit of fornication, insatiability, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, lying, injustice" (*ibid.*, 3: 2-6) Test. Judah 16 1 adds the spirit of lust, carnal desire, profligacy, and filthy lucre. There are angels who stir men to murder (Test. Dan 1 7), and to idolatry (Test. Naphtali 3: 3), see also, *Jubilees* 7 27, 10 1, 12 20. For the rabbinical literature see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4, 467, 523-524. In the Mohammedan demonology Satan is also the seducer of man (P. A. Eichler, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Korän* [Leipzig, 1928], pp. 41, 64 ff.).

21. Beliar (II Cor. 6. 15) as well as the form Beryäl is to be identified with Belial of the Old Testament. In *Jubilees* 1:20 we find Belchör and, *ibid.*, 15. 33, Bëlear and Biliär (see Asc. Is., note p. 6), it also has the form of Bëlihar, Barhor (W. H. Worrell, "Studien zum abessinischen Zauberesen," *ZA*, 29, 139). On Belial, Beliar, Beryal see: G. A. Barton, "Belial, Beliar," *Enc. Rel. Ethics*, 2, 458-459; "Belial" *Enc. Biblica*, 1, 525-527; Charles, *Apocrypha*, Vol. 2, index under "Beliar", W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1903), pp. 328-330; S. Euringer, "Das Netz Salomons," *ZS*, 6 (1928), 306-307; Ginzberg, *Jüdische Sekte* (New York, 1922) pp. 249 ff., G. Shalom, "Bilar, (Bilad, Beliar) meleḵ haššedim," *Kiṭṭe ha'unibeisatā ha'ibrū brūšalayim. Mad-da'e hayyahūqūt*, 1 (1926), 112-127, A. Z. Aescoli, "Les noms magiques," *JA* (1932), p. 105; W. Foerster, "Beliar," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed., G. Kittel, 1 (1933), 606. Beliar is also found in the Coptic Apocalypse of Bartholomew (P. Lacau, "Apocalypse de Barthélémy," *Fragments d'apocryphes coptes* [1904], p. 43, translation p. 67). Gospel of Bartholomew 4: 12 (James, p. 174) contains a physical description of Beryäl, and *ibid.*, 4. 37 (James, p. 176) Beliar, called antichrist, reveals how he tempts men. For Beliar symbolizing the darkness as opposed to the light see above, n. 6, for his relation to Bërnä'el see above, n. 10. Special mention of Beliar is made in Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs and in Asc. Is. He is the chief of the demons and evil spirits. He rules over disturbed spirits (Test. Dan 4 7) or those who yield to their evil inclinations (Test. Asher 1 8). He flees, however, from the righteous and the keepers of the law (Test. Dan 5 1, Test. Reuben 4 1). The evil spirits in general are called "spirits of Beliar" (Test. Issachar 7 7), see also, *Legends*, 2, 21, 193.

22. If men are "single-hearted" and do right then neither the spirits of deceit nor Beliar has power over them (Test. Issachar 4 4, Test. Benjamin 3 3).

23. Ps. 79 4, Ezek. 36. 4.

24. The text is slightly corrupt.

25. In the Coptic Apocalypse of Bartholomew we read "(Be)liar, il foula aux pieds Melkhir, il l'attacha avec une chaîne de fer et d'acier" (Lacau, *Fragments d'apocryphes coptes*, p. 67). For Melkhir see Sammael Melchirā in Asc. Is. 1: 8. The concept of Satan punishing his subordinates and especially casting down into Sheol those who did not accomplish his will probably reflects the idea of the fallen angels. The elaborate details seem to be an Ethiopian product.

26. It is curious that Parāqlitos (Paracritos), whose original role is that of an intercessor and comforter (John 14. 16), is here the "guardian of the sorrows of death," a role that is held by Tartaruchus (Temeluchus) in Apoc. Paul, Sec. 16 (James, p. 534).

27. Ps. 116. 15.

28 For the driving angels in the apocalyptic literature see James, *Testament Abraham*, p 123

29. "God judges the wicked in Hell only when they have been stripped" (Esther Rabba, p 111)

30. Note that the evil spirits blame the soul for having sinned This might reflect the Jewish idea that good deeds may be attributed to Satan and the evil spirits (Jung, *Fallen Angels*, pp 37-41)

31 Correct 'ēm \dot{x} aba to za'ēnbala

32 "When the first commandment had come out of the mouth of God, thunder and lightning proceeded from His mouth" (*Legends*, 3, 95).

33. Job 3 3 ff, I Enoch 38 2; IV Ezra 4 12; Apoc. Paul, Secs 15, 42 (James, pp 532, 547), Eth Apoc Peter, p 512, Matt 26 24 Halévy, *Tē'ēzāza*, note p. 176, mentions also the rabbinical saying, "Better for him had he not been born." Cf also, the problem discussed by the Shammites and the Hillelites as to whether it would have been better for man if he had not been created (A. Buchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement* [1928], p 207).

34 For God as judge in the apocryphal writings see Volz, *Eschatologie*, pp 274-276.

35 Jer 5. 21, Ps 115 5-7

36 Apoc Paul, Sec. 44 (James, p. 549) "And if we had known clearly that this place was appointed for them, we should have done none other work whatsoever, neither traded nor done any wickedness"; see also, Eth Apoc Peter, p. 514

37 Matt 13 42; Apoc. Paul, Secs 16, 42 (James, pp 534, 547), Eth Apoc Peter, p 513.

38 Mastimā is the Hebrew form *maštemah*, "enmity" (Hos 9 7-8) He is the chief of the demonic kingdom The name occurs as Mansēmat in the Acts of Philip (James, p 440) His function is to tempt men and to lead them astray. In *Jubilees* 10 11 Mastimā is identical with Satan. Mastimā has also subordinates called "Spirits of Mastema" (*Jubilees* 19 28) He is also found in the Zadokite Work 20 2 For more details see *Jubilees*, note p 80

39 The text is corrupt These words are probably addressed to the first angel who failed to seduce man.

40. To be read *tamaw'a* instead of *tam'ā*

41. "They shall call death lovely and it shall flee from them" (II Book of Sibylline Oracles, p 524).

42. For *maḳrā* read *maḳarā*.

43 For *ḳarwē* read 'arwē

Baruch

1 See especially, J J. Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch* (Leipzig, 1879), J. T Marshall, "Baruch, Book of," *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1, 251-254, C H. Toy, "Baruch, Book of," *JE*, 2, 556-557, Schurer, *Geschichte*, 3, 460-467, O C Whitehouse, "The Book of Baruch," in Charles, *Apocrypha*, 1, 569-595, R. R Harwell, *The Principal Versions of Baruch* (New Haven, 1915), H. St Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (London, 1921), pp 80-111, W O E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (London, 1935), pp 256-267, C. C.

Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (New Haven, 1945), pp. 59-64, Eissfeldt *Einleitung*, pp. 648-651

2 C C Torrey, "Apocalypse," *JE*, 1, 674. This Apocalypse is preserved in its entirety only in Syriac, in a sixth-century manuscript discovered by A. M. Ceriani, who published the Latin translation in 1866 (in *Monumenta Sacra et profana*, 1, fasc 2, 73-98), the Syriac text in 1871, and the photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883.

3. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (1896), p xv

4 Charles, *op cit*, bibliography, pp xxx-xliii, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism and Christianity* (London, 1899), pp. 269-282, *Apocrypha*, 2, 470-526, D V. Ryssel, "Die Apokalypse des Baruch," in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*, 2, 402-446, A Kahana, *Hassēfaim hahisonim* (1936), 1, 362-407, L Ginzberg, "Baruch, Apocalypse of," *JE*, 2, 551-556; Schurer, *Geschichte*, 3, 305-315, B. Violet, *Die Apokalypsen des Ezra und des Baruch in deutscher Gestalt* (Leipzig, 1924), pp lvi-xcvi, 203-336, Volz, *Eschatologie*, pp. 40-48, H H Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic* (London, 1944), pp 98-113, 132-135, C C Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (New Haven, 1945), pp. 123-126, Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, pp 683-686

5 James, the editor of the Greek text, calls it IV Baruch. The Greek text was first published in M R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, pp li-lxxi, 84-94. It was translated into English by H M. Hughes in Charles, *Apocrypha*, 2, 527-541, into German by D. V. Ryssel in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*, 2, 446-457, into Hebrew by A Kahana, *Hassēfaim hahisonim* (1936), 1, 408-425. The Slavonic version was published by Stojan Novaković, "Otkrivene Varuhovo," *Starine*, 18 (1886), 203-209, the text has been translated into German by N Bonwetsch, *NKGWG*, Philologisch-Historische Klasse (1896), pp 94-101, and into English by W R. Murfill in James (see above), pp 96-102

6 Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, pp 686-687, A E Zenos, "Apocalyptic Literature," *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, ed, Hastings (1907), 1, 86-87.

7 See L Ginzberg, "Baruch, Apocalypse of," *JE*, 2, 549-551; James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, p lxxi.

8 III Baruch, p 529, James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, p. lxxi, and others

9 For a detailed bibliography see Schurer, *Geschichte*, 3, 394-395

10. The Ethiopic text has been published in A Dillman, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica* (Leipzig, 1866), pp 1-15. It is translated into German by F Praetorius, "Das apokryphische Buch Baruch im Aethiopischen," *ZWT*, 15 (1872), 230-247, and by E. König, "Der Rest der Worte Baruchs," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 50 (1877), 318-336, into French by R. Basset, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens* (Paris, 1893), 1, 1-24, into Hebrew by J Klausner, "Sefer Baruk bēlašon kušit," *Hašiloah* 8 (1901), 236-252

11 *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, Haverford College Studies, No 2 (1899) Harris calls this book III Baruch

12 "The Pre-Talmudic Haggada," *JQR*, 5 (1893), 407-419 Kohler calls this book II Baruch

13 *Geschichte*, 3, 393-394

14 *Legends*, 6, 387

15 Charles, *Apocrypha*, 2, 471, James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, pp liii-liv; B Violet, *Die Apokalypsen des Ezra und Baruch*, p xcvi.

16 Contrary to A. Epstein, *'Eldad Haddani*, p. 147, who identifies it with II Baruch

17. Beside the published Falasha text there are three manuscripts of the Apocalypse of Baruch, all of them probably of Christian character. They are: Orient, 503, fols 63a-66b (W Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 21), Add, 16, 223, fols 1-20 (A Dillmann, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur Pars tertia. Codices Aethiopicos amplectens* [London, 1847], p. 23), and d'Abbadie, 247, fols 103^v-108, of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Conti Rossini, *Notice*, No. 243, p. 234).

18. M. Chaîne, *Apocalypsis seu Visio Mariae Virginis*, Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium Scriptorum Aethiopicum (1909), Ser 1, 7, 57-80, Latin translation, pp. 43-69. One of the numerous manuscripts in Greek was published in James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, pp. 109-126. A brief summary in English was given in James, *Apocryphal NT*, p. 563. This text is different from the Ethiopic version.

19. There are some differences, however, in the structure and in the character of these two works. There is no introduction in the Falasha Apocalypse of Baruch as there is in the Apocalypse of the Virgin, the description of the Paradise is more detailed in the Apocalypse of the Virgin than in the Apocalypse of Baruch; unlike the Virgin, Baruch does not intercede for the sinners, the Apocalypse of Baruch speaks often of the duties of the mighty and of the kings toward their subjects, the second part of the Apocalypse of Baruch dealing with the future has no corresponding section in the Apocalypse of the Virgin.

20. M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, Latin text, pp. 11-31, English translation in James, *Apocryphal NT*, pp. 525-555; R. P. Casey, "The Apocalypse of Paul," *JTS*, 34 (1933), 1-32; Silverstein, *Visio Pauli* (London, 1935).

21 Silverstein, *ibid*, p. 3.

22 Silverstein, *ibid*, pp. 218-222; for the Arabic versions see R. P. Casey, "The Apocalypse of Paul," *JTS*, 34 (1933), 4.

23 The Greek text was published in J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Gospel According to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter* (London, 1892), pp. 89-93; translation, pp. 48-51. On the Greek origin of the Apocalypse see A. Dieterich, *Nekyia Beitrage zur Erklarung der neuentdeckten Petrus-Apokalypse* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), p. 231.

24. There are several Ethiopic versions of the Apocalypse of Peter. S. Grébaud, "La seconde venue du Christ et la resurrection des morts," *ROC* (1910), pp. 198-214, 307-323, 424-439; identified with the Apocalypse of Peter by M. R. James, "A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter," *JTS*, 12 (1910), 36-56. This text was also translated into German by H. Duensing, "Ein Stucke der urchristlichen Petrus-apokalypse enthaltender Traktat der aethiopischen Pseudoklementinischen Literatur," *ZNW* (1913), pp. 65-78, and into English by James, *The Apocryphal NT.*, pp. 510-521. Other versions are: A. Dillmann, "Über das aethiopische Buch Clementinischer Schriften," *NKGWG* (1858), pp. 185-199, 201-215, 217-226, and E. Bratke, "Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-athiopischen Petrus Apokalypse," *ZTW*, 36, Part 1 (1893), 454-493, who analyzes Arabic and Ethiopic manuscripts of the Apocalypse of Peter.

25. For a particular example see Qolëyon, below, n. 179.

26. The Ethiopic name is Bârok.

27. 'Ēskēndros is the Ethiopic name for Alexander.
- 28 A has "one year."
- 29 But above he was in service only thirty years. Halévy, *Tē'ezāza*, p. 196, renders "forty years" instead of the "thirty years" of the text. In A this sentence is missing.
30. The text has "the king of Persia."
- 31 Nebuchadnezzar conquered Palestine at the time of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah but not at the time of Manasseh.
32. Zion (Ethiopic Ṣēyon) is probably to be identified with the temple or the ark For Zion identified with the temple in the Bible see Isa. 8·18, Joel 3·17, 18·7; Micah 24·23, etc. See also, C. W. Wilson, "Zion," *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed., Hastings (1904), 4, 982-984.
- 33 Sutu'el or Suta'el also occurs in the Falasha prayers as angel and prophet. M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angelologie* (Paris, 1897), p. 206, following Epstein, *REJ*, 25 (1892), 24, translates it "base de Dieu," substituting *z* for *s*, and *t* for *r*, Sutu'el standing thus for Zutu'el. The manuscripts of the Christian Apocalypse of Baruch have Suryāl instead of Sutu'el
34. For the idea of the Heavenly Jerusalem see Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (London, 1896), pp. 6-7, Volz, *Eschatologie*, pp. 372 ff; Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 3, 573. In the rabbinical literature it was called *Yērušalayim šel ma'lah*, see F. W. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 356-359, 386; Kohler, "Eschatology," *JE*, 5, 215. The Virgin, too, saw the Heavenly Jerusalem (Apoc. Virgin, pp. 70, 59).
- 35 Apoc Virgin, pp. 68, 57. For the martyrs in the apocryphal and apocalyptic works see Volz, *Eschatologie*, p. 429, under "Martyrer."
36. The Heavenly Jerusalem was shown to Adam before he sinned (Sl. Enoch 31·2). In II Baruch 4 3 we read, "This building (Heavenly Jerusalem) was prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise." The expression, "Was it made before the creation?" in Apoc. Virgin, pp. 61, 51, refers not to the Heavenly Jerusalem but to the columns of gold and fire on which the names of the just and of the sinners were engraved.
- 37 On the books and tables on which the deeds of man are written see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 2, 169 ff; 3, 840, 4, 1041, Volz, *Eschatologie*, pp. 291 ff.
38. White is the color that symbolizes righteousness, see I Enoch 85·3, 8; 87·2, Isa. 1: 18; Ps 51·7; Rev. 7·14.
- 39 The text is corrupt Several words are repeated by dittography The text in B yields a better reading.
40. To be read *babē'ēssu* instead of *wa'ēmuntu*
41. In Apoc Virgin, pp. 61, 52, this passage is more extensive According to Jewish writings the Shekinah dwells with husband and wife if their union is holy (*Legends*, 5, 319) Cf. also, Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p. 34. "Les Falaschas croient que le mari et la femme se retrouveront dans le paradis, à moins que l'un et l'autre ne se soit marié une autre fois"
42. To be read *wamanāšafa* (according to B) instead of *wanasfa*.
43. According to Apoc. Virgin, pp. 67, 56, this is the residence of men and women who did not have extramarital relations but kept their marriage pure.
44. Asceticism is also praised in I Enoch 108: 7, 9; IV Ezra 7·125, and in other apocryphal works.

45 B has "this gate was in this city before Adam"

46. On the four springs of honey, milk, oil, and wine, see also, Sl. Enoch 8 5 In Apoc Paul, Sec 23, the river of honey is called Phuson (Pišon), the river of milk Euphrates, the river of oil Geon (Gihon), and the river of wine Tigris See also, *Legends*, 1, 20, 132, and 5, 29, on the four rivers in the rabbinical literature where the stream of oil is replaced by a stream of balsam (see M Gaster, "Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise," *JRAS* [1893], p 587) These four streams are also taken over into the Koran 47·16, 17, where the stream of oil is replaced by a stream of fresh water. See also, I. Lévy, *La Légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine*, p. 160, Ernst Schlee, *Die Ikonographie der Paradiesflüsse* (Studien über christliche Denkmaler, ed., Johannes Ficker, No 24 [Leipzig, 1937]).

47. The meaning is not certain. See also, Apoc Paul, Sec. 22 (James, p 537). A has "those who abstain from flesh and milk", B has *zaxarayomu*, "who chose them," instead of *waxarama*

48. *halib* should be read *xēlinnā*

49. Apoc. Virgin, pp. 63, 53, and Apoc Paul, Sec 26, speak of children killed by Herod. B adds, "when Christ is born the children will be killed."

50. On the chastity imposed upon the hermits see S. Grébaut, "Exhortations aux anachorètes," *ROC*, Ser 2, 8 (1913), 317-325; Ser 2, 9 (1914), 443-445.

51. *wabazamēwo* . . . 'awyān does not belong here B has only "and many fruits."

52. On the plants, aromatic trees, and groves of trees, see I Enoch, pp 28 ff , Apoc Paul, Sec. 22.

53. Lev 19:15, Deut 10. 7

54. For the care to be taken of widows see Deut 24 17-21.

55 To be read 'iyāiā'wu as in A instead of yāiā'wu

56. Sl. Enoch 10 4; Apoc. Paul, Sec 38 Witchcraft is also prohibited by a Noahian law (*Legends*, 5, 93) According to *Fatha Nagast*, p 493, the magician should die

57 Apoc. Paul, Sec 23.

58 For Hebrew 'ir ha'ēlohim = Jerusalem see Ps 40 6, 8, Isa 60 14, etc Apoc. Paul, Secs. 23, 24 (James, pp 538, 539), speaks about the "City of Christ"

59 Apoc. Virgin, pp 65, 55.

60. Taken from B; cf Matt 5 44 See also, Abba Elijah, p 47, and Grébaut, "Exhortations aux anachorètes," *ROC* (1913), p 325 "Be oppressed by all, but oppress no one"

61. Apoc. Virgin, pp. 63, 53, Abba Elijah, p 46; see also, Sl. Enoch 9 1, 42 8, Ezek. 18·7, Matt 25 35, 36, 38

62. To be read 'ansē'anmi instead of 'awsē'anmi

63. The manuscripts of the Christian Apocalypse of Baruch (see above, n 17), have 'Aqrāb. Halévy, *Tē'ēzāza*, p xxiii, n 4, suggests the idea of the city of Luz or Qušta of the Talmud 'Aqrāba is probably mistaken for 'Akrosya (s and b are easily confused in the Ethiopic writing) which occurs in Apoc. Paul, Sec 22, as Lake Acherusa, and Eth. Apoc Peter, *ROC* (1910), pp 208, 214, where we read, "Then I will give unto mine elect and righteous the washing (baptism) and the salvation for which they have besought me, in the field of Akrosya." James, "A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter," *JTS*, 12 (1910), 52, compares 'Akrosya with the Greek 'Αχερουσία λιμνη.

64 The following are the heavenly scribes the angels, Enoch, Elijah, Ezra, Metatron, and Messiah, see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 2, 171-173. For Elijah as heavenly scribe in the rabbinical writings see *Legends*, 4, 201, 6, 324. For Enoch as scribe in the apocryphal writings cf *Jubilees* 4 23, SI Enoch 40 13, 53: 2, 64 5. In I Enoch 12 4, and Apoc. Paul, Sec 20, he is called "the scribe of righteousness", he is God's scribe in I Enoch 12 3. See also, I Enoch, note p 28

65 This entire section is interpolated, it belongs at the end of the text.

66 Cf. the passage in E Littmann, "Abyssinian Apocalypses," *AJSL*, 19 (1902), 95. "And there shall be rest and joy and peace in the whole world, and welfare shall be so great that rain shall fall without a cloud seven days"

67 Or "like of oil"

68 The text has "houses"

69 Gen 14 18

70. The text has "him"

71 B has "the prophets who prophesied the arrival of Christ"

72 See n. 83 to Abba Elijah The false prophet of Beth-el received a revelation (see I Kings 13 20) as a reward for his kindness toward the prophet of Judah to whom he offered hospitality (*Legends*, 6, 306)

73 Lev 19. 18

74. This is repeated twice in the text

75 To be read 'iyēmāsēn instead of 'aymāsēn.

76 The text has "He said to me"

77 In the Syriac Apoc Paul (*JAOS*, 8, 197), not only the names of the righteous are inscribed on tablets of gold but also their works from day to day In the Apoc Paul, Sec 19, "also their countenance and the likeness of them" are set down In Apoc Virgin, pp 61, 51, not only the features of the faces but the men in their entirety are engraved on the columns of gold. B has "they are written in the Book of Life"

78 This reminds one of the well-known motif of Tantalus' punishment (*Odyssey* 9, 582) In Apoc Virgin, pp. 65, 55, the same punishment is mentioned but the sin which has caused it is different, the sinners did not give food to the hungry nor drink to the thirsty The text adds, however, that these sinners were lofty *Ibid*, pp. 77, 66, the Virgin saw people suspended from a column of fire; many kinds of sweet fruit and limpid water were before their eyes, but when they wanted to eat or to drink they did not find the fruits nor the stream. See also, Apoc Paul, Sec 39 S Lieberman in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (1945), pp 149 ff, traces back the whole idea to a passage in Yērušalmi Hāgīgā; *ibid*, p 153, n 35, the author cites other rabbinical passages mentioning this punishment

79 Apoc Paul, Sec. 24 For pride as sin see also, II Baruch 48 10 According to the Agada pride is one of the eight grievous sins (*Legends*, 6, 10-11, 364).

80 To be read *waqoṣonāt* instead of *zaqoṣonāt*.

81 The Ethiopic *wēsta*, "into," is repeated

82 Cf Grébaut, "Exhortations aux anachorètes," *ROC* (1913), p 324 "If you love the Celestial Kingdom, approach not any woman"

83 Abba Elijah, p 47. "Slandering one's fellowman is as grievous a sin as worshipping idols" (P Pe'ah, 1, 15^a), for other passages see *Legends*, 5, 292

84 This is an ascetic element, see also, Apoc. Virgin, pp. 72, 61, where those who ride on horses and mules are considered sinners.

85. I Enoch 108: 8.

86 In *Fatha Nagast*, p. 123, we read "The love of office is a diabolic illness."

87. According to *Fatha Nagast*, p. 122, only the superior of a monastery and the sick monks are allowed to lie on a bed

88. This passage should be corrected to 'ārata wamansaḥa za'amakḥnayu bamablē' (instead of 'ārata wamashaḥ za'amakḥnayu bamablē') and means, "[who did not lie in this world] on a bed or a couch, who did not claim to be eating" (i.e., they did not use eating as a pretext for not having the time to do good deeds). The reading in B is not better. It has "those who did not claim to be eating saying, 'There is no festival for the monks upon the earth, and their Easter [fāsī-ḥāhomu instead of fēssēhāhomu, "their joy," of our text] is when their soul leaves this world'"

89. *Fatha Nagast*, p. 121.

90. For fire as punishment see II Baruch 44: 15, 48. 43, and Volz, *Eschatologie*, pp. 323 ff On the fiery rivers see Sl. Enoch 10: 2; Rev. 19. 20, 20: 10, 14, 15; and other apocalyptic writings

91. Apoc. Virgin, pp. 76, 64; Apoc. Paul, Sec. 39; Eth. Apoc. Peter, *ROC* (1910), pp. 207, 213, and James, *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 517. But the sin which caused this punishment is not the same. Black is the color of the condemned (Volz, *Eschatologie*, p. 325).

92 Literally, "whose hands are tied."

93. According to *Fatha Nagast*, p. 77, the priest who received his priesthood by bribery should be ousted.

94. To be read *ḳēhēnnāt* instead of *ḳāhnāt*.

95. To be read *za'idēlēw* instead of *zadēlēw*.

96. On the blemishes see Lev. 21: 17-24 The same restrictions are imposed on the priests of the Catholic Church, see George Phillips, *Du droit ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1856), I, 321-329

97. Kedar is one of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. 25: 13; I Chron. 1: 29), this name is also used for the Beduins generally.

98. B also has "and bishops."

99. To be read 'aporgi or 'aporgē, Halévy, *Tē'ezāza*, p. 202, misunderstood this passage. B has "in the church" instead of "in the sanctuary"

100. Probably without giving it to the poor, widows, and orphans, see Deut. 14. 29, and *Fatha Nagast*, p. 169. In fact, Eth. Apoc. Peter, *NKGWG* (1858), p. 222, advises the distribution of firstlings and of tithe to the poor. On tithe see Otto Eissfeldt, *Erslinge und Zehnten im Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1917).

101. Apoc. Virgin, pp. 76, 64; Eth. Apoc. Peter, *ROC* (1910), pp. 207, 213. For the rules which should guide the life of virgins see *Fatha Nagast*, pp. 128-130

102. Apoc. Virgin, pp. 72, 61, where the details are not the same, Apoc. Paul, Sec. 31.

103. Apoc. Paul, Sec. 31; Ps. 101: 5.

104 Text completed according to Apoc. Virgin, pp. 73, 62

105. Apoc. Paul, Sec. 39, Lev. 20: 13

106. To be read 'ēmat instead of 'āmat. The passage is obscure.

107. Lev 15·18 ff

108 The text has the obscure *sēlēlt*, as in one of the manuscripts of the Apoc. Virgin, but another manuscript has *sē'ēlt* (see Apoc. Virgin, p 73, l. 26).

109. This probably refers to a priest Under the sacerdotal law (Lev. 21·14) a widow is not a suitable wife for the High Priest but she can marry an ordinary priest Ezekiel (44 22) in his hierarchical scheme forbade to the ordinary priest marriage with a widow unless her first husband had been a priest, but this scheme was never accepted as law

110 It is not clear whether the text speaks of the marriage of a brother's widow who had or had not a son. According to Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p 87, "il est honteux d'épouser la veuve d'un frère." On the levirate see J. Jacobs, "Levirate," *JE*, 8, 45-46, A. Geiger, "Die Levirats-Ehe, ihre Entstehung und ihre Entwicklung," *Judische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1 (1862), 19-39; Wechsler, *ibid.*, pp. 253-263; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (New York, 1922), 3, 207-220.

111. Lev. 18: 6-18, 20: 11-21; *Jubilees* 33: 10-20, 41: 25-28; Apoc Virgin, pp. 73, 62, see also, "Incest," *JE*, 6, 571-575. For the Ethiopic law concerning incest see *Fatha Nagast*, pp. 508 ff.

112. Exod 22: 19, Deut. 27: 21, Lev. 20 15; *Fatha Nagast*, p 512.

113. For the abomination of worshipping idols of stone see Deut. 4 28; II Kings 19·18; Jer. 3·9. For the belief in spirits in stones see E. Langton, *Good and Evil Spirits* (London, 1942), p 19

114. The limitation to widows is probably wrong. In Apoc Virgin, pp. 77, 65, and Apoc. Peter Sec. 26 (James, p. 509), this sin refers to any woman; see also, II Book of Sibylline Oracles, Sec. 280 (James, p 513). For the defense of abortion in the Ethiopic law see *Fatha Nagast*, p 512. Concerning the Falashas we read in Luzzatto, *Mémoire*, p. 86: "L'avortement volontairement provoqué à cet effet . . . ferme à la mère la porte du paradis, mais il n'y a pas de peine pour ce crime"

115 The text has here "become bad"

116. Apoc Paul, Sec 40 "They gave us for food to dogs, and to be tramped on by swine"

117. Eth. Apoc. Peter, *ROC* (1910), pp. 205, 212, and James, *Apocryphal NT*, p 515, in Apoc Virgin, pp. 77, 65, God orders the angel Tēmlēyākos to place the children in a beautiful place. The name is identified by W. Weyh, *ZDMG*, 65 (1911), 391, with the Greek *τημελοῦχος* (*ἄγγελος*) "the angel protector" James, *Apocryphal NT*, p 507, explains it as follows: "The word rendered *care-taking* [of children] is a very rare one, *tēmelouchos*, so rare that it was mistaken by later readers for the proper name of an angel . . ." The angel of torments is Aftemelouchos (Apoc Peter, Sec 40), and Tartaruchus (Apoc. Paul, Sec. 16). Curiously enough B adds after Tēmlēyākos "the angel of Gehenna" It is probably in accordance with this tradition that Amharic translates *iēblēyākos* by "devil" (I Gudi, *Supplemento al Vocabolario amarico-italiano*, p. 241).

118 On the punishment of kings and the mighty by fire see I Enoch 48 8, 9; on other judgments see also, Volz, *Eschatologie*, pp. 22 ff, 314.

119 See Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 3, 113 ff.

120. The duty of a king is to treat a country with benevolence even if it is a conquered one (*Fatha Nagast*, p. 473).

121. To be read 'yāfaqrū instead of yāfaqrū.
122. On the obligation of the kings toward the poor, widows, and orphans, see *Fatha Nagast*, p. 471.
123. To be read 'yēhēbu instead of yēhub
- 124 Cf., perhaps, the expression in Jer. 2 13, "They hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water."
125. "In those days none shall be saved, either by gold or by silver," I Enoch 52. 7; cf also, Zeph. 1 18, Isa 13 17
- 126 Isa 50 9, 51 6, Ps 102 26
- 127 To be read *rasayēwā* instead of *fasayēwā*.
- 128 Gen. 3. 19.
- 129 B has "the Gospel" instead of "Scripture"
- 130 "The righteous are greater than the angels" (Pēšiqta Rabbati, sec. 35, 160^b), for other talmudic passages see *Legends*, 5, 24; 6, 418.
- 131 Apoc. Gorgorios, p. 86.
- 132 The word 'ab'ēli "wealthy" is found a line below.
133. In another connection Apoc. Virgin, pp. 76, 65, adds lions of fire and tigers of fire.
134. B yields a better text "those who said 'we have despised this world,' but they did not despise it."
135. Taken from B
- 136 Prov. 2 11; II Pet 2 22.
137. II Sam 15 1-9. According to the Revelation of R. Joshua ben Levi (*JRAS* [1893], p. 596), Absalom presides in Hell over the nations from the Gentiles. They say to Absalom, "Why art thou punished seeing that thou as well as thy parents hast accepted the Law?" And he answers them and says, "Because I did not hearken to the commandments of my father"
- 138 Taken from B. The reading *taxāsayēwā* of our text does not yield a good meaning.
139. Gen. 19. 26
140. Apoc. Virgin, pp 79, 67
141. On the obligations of the deacons see *Fatha Nagast*, pp. 81 ff. Apoc. Virgin and Apoc Paul speak here of a single deacon as well as of a single priest, High Priest, etc.
142. Apoc. Virgin, pp. 78, 67; Apoc Peter, Sec 9, Apoc Paul, Secs. 24, 39, Acts of Thomas, Sec. 56 (James, p. 391); Apoc Gorgorios, p. 87
143. This is more detailed in Apoc Virgin, pp 79, 67 "How often dost Thou desire them to bring Thee sacrifices?" He said to me 'Saturday of the Christians [i.e., Sunday] in the morning, Saturday of the Jews [i.e., Saturday] at 3 o'clock'" B also mentions the sacrifice of the Christians and of the first Saturday (i.e., Sab-bath).
144. Taken from B.
145. To be read *taqāmyān* instead of *waqāmyān*.
- 146 This reminds one of the expression of B. Baḥa Kamma 10 6, "The tailor who retained of the thread to sew therewith"
147. To be read *yābaw'omu* instead of *yabawkomu*
148. See above, n 78.
149. Apoc Paul, Sec 39. B adds "the fast of Wednesday, Friday, and the

Great Fast [1 e, Lent]." These are Christian fasts the Falashas fast every Thursday (see Introduction, pp. xxix, xxxiii).

150. Apoc Virgin, pp 70, 67 In Apoc Paul, Sec 41, a well sealed with three seals is mentioned.

151 On frost and ice see especially, Sl Enoch 10 2, Test. Levi 3.3 Apoc Paul, Sec 42, is like our text "Nothing else but cold and snow . . . Even if the sun rose upon them, they would not be warmed."

152 B has "they will not mention him to the Father and the Holy Spirit"

153. Ps 1 5

154 On the unusual yields of crops shortly before the antichrist's time see Bousset, *Antichrist*, p 199.

155 To be read *manaḳos* instead of *wanaḳos*

156. This picture of the Messianic days is rather unusual since even in normal times these people are supposed to live in peace with one another. One would expect a description similar to that of Isa. 11:7, "And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb . . ." It can probably be explained as counterpart of the Arabic Apoc Peter, *ZWT*, 36, Part 1 (1893), 473 "At the time of the antichrist, the father will be unable to help his son, the son his father, the mother her daughter, the daughter her mother, and the brother his brother" Cf also, I Enoch 56 7.

157. This probably refers to Helena (Halévy, *Tē'ēzāza*, p xxvi), wife of the emperor Constantine I and mother of Constantine the Great (*ca. 247-ca 327 AD*) In Sib Oracles 3 75, "then the world shall be under the dominion of a woman's hands" Lanchester in Charles, *Apocrypha*, 2, 371, thinks that Rome is meant Bousset, *Antichrist*, p 99, finds in the woman a reflection of the Dragon Myth

158 Constantine (288-337), son of Helena, Roman emperor, converted to Christianity

159 This is perhaps a mistake for the emperor Theodosius the Great (*ca. 345-395*), in his time Christianity became the religion of the empire

160 A Roman emperor (245-313) who sanctioned a persecution of the Christians

161 See p 154 n. 264.

162. The number "four thousand years" of H is obscure B has "by four thousand angels" In general all the manuscripts have here corrupt readings B has "until it will go down from Gabra Masqal Hamad [?] four hundred and six years"

163 Taken from B

164 A possible reminiscence of Song of Sol 2 15, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines"

165 For drought and famine as the chief plagues that are to prevail in the antichrist's period and for the writings in which they occur, see Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp. 195-200

166 The text has the unusual combination of eight and four

167 The year of the Christian era For the count of the "year of mercy" see M Chaîne, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie* (Paris, 1925), pp 111-119

168 In the vision of Ezra it is also said, "Then shall the world be turned into the primeval silence seven days, as at the first beginning" (IV Ezra 7 30). See also, II Baruch 3 7

169. Isa 11 5.
170. The false messiah is to be identified with the antichrist (Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp 166, 169, 182).
171. See A. Jellinek, "'Oṣoṭ hammašiah," *Beṯ Hammidrāš* (1853), 2, 60; Asc Is, p 27, n. 6, where other passages are cited.
172. As in the Eth Apoc Peter, *ZWT*, 36, Part I (1893), 481; in Asc Is. 4:5. "The sun will rise at night and will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour" On similar portents see Asc. Is, p. 25, n. 5, Steindorff, *Apokalypse Elias*, p. 16, and especially, Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp. 175 ff.
173. To be read 'atfē'o instead of 'atfē'o.
174. For similar descriptions in other apocalyptic works see Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp. 191 ff.
175. 'ansā perhaps for 'anbasā, "lion."
176. The Cross refers to the Son of Man. The belief in the reappearance of the Cross at the last judgment has played a great role, especially in the apocalyptic writings of the eastern churches. See on this legend Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp. 234-237
177. Taken from B.
178. For Michael and Gabriel as captains of the hosts and conquerors of the antichrist in other apocalyptic works see Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp. 228 ff.
179. Qolēyon is identified by Halévy, *JA* (1903), p. 557, with Apolyon, the "angel of the bottomless pit" (Rev. 9 11). This name came to the Ethiopians through an Arabic channel, the name Polyon being read Qolyon, the Arabic signs for *f* and *q*, if written without dot, have the same form
180. Halévy, *JA* (1903), p. 557, thinks of the fowls in Rev. 19. 17-18. The eagle as a symbol of the wretched kingdom occurs also in IV Ezra 11. In the Eth. Apoc. Peter, *NKGWG* (1858), p. 194, the eagle represents the Babylonian kingdom
181. Thus in B (*nafsāt*); H has *nafāt*. It is identified by Halévy, *JA* (1903), p. 557, with the Nobades or Nabades of Nubia, who were widely known during the Middle Ages for their ferocity.
182. Taken from B. The sounding of the horn for the second time is missing in H. On the three sounds see A. Jellinek, "'Oṣoṭ hammašiah," *Beṯ Hammidrāš*, 2, 61-62, and Bousset, *Antichrist*, p. 248. On Michael see Wilhelm Lueken, *Der Erzengel Michael in der Überlieferung des Judentums* (Marburg, 1898); Reuben Margulies, *Mal'āke 'elyon*, pp. 108-135. For a bibliography on the resurrection see I Enoch, note p. 98.
183. For Abimelech as priest of Jerusalem see I Chron 18:16.
184. I was unable to identify Masfēyānos

Apocalypse of Gorgorios

1. Conti Rossini, *Appunti*, p. 584, n. 1.
2. C Rathjens, *Die Juden in Abessinien*, p. 82.
3. The Book of Zohar often mentions the ascension of the soul during sleep.
4. See above, pp. 70 ff
5. See above p. 63 and p. 164 n. 20.
6. See above, pp. 50 ff.

7. See below, p 87.
8. *T'ēzāza*, pp xxix, n. 1, and xxxv.
- 9 See also, Aescoli, "Gorgorios," *EJ*, 7, 536
- 10 Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, d'Abbadie MS, 165, fol. 110v^o (Conti Rossini, *Notice*, No. 52, p 82).
- 11 Conti Rossini, *ibid*, p 32.
12. Conti Rossini, *ibid*, p 217; this manuscript is not as good as the d'Abbadie MS, 21 Aescoli, p 103, speaks of two other manuscripts in the Collection Graule.
- 13 "Soul" added from H.
- 14 Paul in Apoc. Paul, Sec 13 (James, 530) also says, "I would see the souls of the righteous and of the sinners as they depart out of the world."
15. This corresponds to the general idea that death is "bitter" but that for the righteous death is an eternal rest (Sir. 30. 17); "the death of the pious is painless, that of the wicked is painful" (*Legends*, 5, 78)
16. Thus in H The manuscripts A and B have *mēhrato*, "his grace"
- 17 Taken from B and H.
- 18 See the Book of the Angels, *passim*, Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1, 151, 781, and *passim*
19. They are known in the midrash as "angels of destruction."
- 20 A has *'ērāyomu* instead of *rā'ēyomu* as in H and B.
21. Taken from H; A and B have *zagabra*, "that he had accomplished."
- 22 The text has "their soul"
- 23 Added from B and H.
24. On the hermits and their merits see Baruch, pp 66, 68
- 25 On smoke and sulphur in the rabbinical literature see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4, 1076, 1080, see also, I Enoch 67 6.
- 26 To be read *tay* instead of *tīay* as in A.
27. To be read *zawēlut rā'ēyomu* instead of *zawēsēt rā'ēyomu*.
- 28 For the Angel of Darkness see the Book of the Angels, *passim*.
29. In Baruch, p 74, fire and sulphur come out of the mouths of the sinners.
- 30 The kings are also punished in Baruch, pp 72, 78, 82, 86
31. Cf a similar description in Apoc Paul, Sec. 11 (James, p. 529). "Angels without mercy, having no pity, whose countenances were full of fury, and their teeth protruding forth from their mouths . . . and out of the hair of their head and out of their mouths went forth sparks of fire", see also, Steindorff, *Apokalypse Elias*, p 150
32. The word *labāhēr* of A is superfluous, it is missing in B.
33. Apoc Paul, Sec. 18 (James, p 535).
- 34 This is repeated twice in the text
- 35 Translated according to B, A has *'ēmhērki*, which is corrupt
- 36 See also *T'ēzāza Sanbat*, p. 18; it is a well-known expression.
- 37 B has *tā'mā* instead of *tamā* as in A
- 38 IV Ezra 7 97, 125, II Baruch 51 3, I Enoch 39 7, Matt 13: 43
- 39 According to B
- 40 To be read *wamēdīā* as in B instead of *wa'ēmdabrā* as in A
- 41 To be read *masāhēyt* instead of *masyāht*.
- 42 According to B
- 43 A doubtful word.

- 44 Thus in B and H
- 45 For a similar description of the various parts of the trees see Buttenwieser, *Elias-Apokalyse*, pp. 25, 67
46. For the description of the Paradise see especially, A Jellinek, "Seder gan 'eḏen," *Beṣ Hammidrāš*, 2, 52-53, 3, 137-140, 194-198, "Gan 'eḏen wēgehunnom," *ibid*, 5, 42-43, "Pereq gan hahayyim," *ibid*, 5, 47, Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4, 1118-1144, *Legends*, 1, 21-23
47. According to some legends the Heavenly Temple was built in the third heaven or in the fourth heaven (*Legends*, 1, 9, 2, 195, 307).
- 48 For the pre-existence of the Heavenly Temple see *Legends*, 1, 3.
49. An obscure word follows.
50. One would expect "who are not silent," unless the expression of H *bā'iyār-mēmo* is to be translated "without ceasing." The expression of A 'ēlla *yārammu*, could be corrected to 'ēlla *'iyārammu*, "who are not silent."
- 51 For Šeyon see p. 165 n 32.
52. According to H.
53. To be read *dinārāt* as in B instead of *dūrārāt* as in A.
54. To be read *nētuf* as in H instead of *nēfut*
55. According to H.
56. According to H
57. A doubtful form.
- 58 According to B, A has the form in the positive.
59. For the Heavenly Jerusalem symbolized by a woman see IV Ezra 10 29-57, and p. 165 n 34.
- 60 Taken from B
61. See Baruch, pp. 66, 68, 82.
62. To be read *qērān* instead of *qatmān*, the following *dēmatn* does not yield any meaning For the rivers of pitch and sulphur see M. Gaster, "'Orhoṭ hayyim," *JRAS* (1893), p 599
- 63 Translated according to H, the words *wayčkaffēl kama sēhrēgā* of A and B do not yield any meaning.
64. See M. Gaster, "Revelation of Moses," *JRAS* (1893), p. 590, and Baruch, p. 73.
- 65 Possibly this is to be connected with the legend that the waters of Egypt turned to blood.
66. Baruch, p 73
- 67 According to B
68. The text has *zakalsesu*
69. To be read *mā'bal* as in B instead of *mā'kala* as in A
70. For a similar description cf. Gaster, "Revelation of Moses," *JRAS* (1893), p 583, cf also, Gaster, "Revelation of R Joshua," *JRAS* (1893), p. 595.
- 71 To be read *'aw'yātom* instead of *'aw'ayātom*
72. According to H.
- 73 To be read *yēš'awaru* as in B instead of *'itā'awaru* as in A
74. To be read *maqḏēht* instead of *madqēht* of A and B
- 75 Baruch, p 70.
76. To be read *yākaw'u* as in B. According to the text of H those who drew the pails of fire were the oppressed ones They poured them upon the oppressors

- 77 Added from B.
78. For darkness as corporal and spiritual condemnation see Volz, *Eschatologie*, p. 323
- 79 To be read *tafanawku* as in B
80. This scene is reminiscent of Baruch, p. 74, and Apoc Paul (James, pp 546-547)
- 81 To be read *yššassar* as in B (with some corrections).
82. The word *samāy* is superfluous.
- 83 The text has "his."
- 84 Apoc Paul, Secs. 37-40, 42 (James, pp. 544-545, 547).
85. Baruch, p. 71.
- 86 The text has "his."
- 87 This seems to be the meaning of the obscure passage The word *wasta* of A is to be corrected into 'ēšāt
88. The text has "them."
89. Baruch, p. 71.
90. According to B, A has the first person singular.
91. Apoc Paul, Sec. 35 (James, p. 543).
- 92 Baruch, p. 80.
93. Baruch, p. 73.
- 94 Baruch, p. 71.
95. The text adds "according to their deeds."
96. The question is repeated
97. Apoc. Peter (James, p. 516).
- 98 Sir 23: 16.
- 99 On the efficacy of repentance see *Legends*, index, under "repentance."
- 100 To be read *rē'īku*, "I saw," instead of 'ar'aykuk(k)a, "I showed thee."
- 101 To be read *lakwēllu* as in B instead of *wakwēllu* as in A
- 102 Paul, too, wrote his revelation for the benefit of mankind. "The Lord said to him 'Send and disclose concerning this revelation, that men may read it and turn to the way of truth, that they also may not come to these bitter torments'" Apoc Paul (James, p. 554).
- 103 Added according to B
- 104 According to B
- 105 To be read *baraḳat* according to B.
- 106 According to B
- 107 According to B
- 108 The text is slightly corrupt.
109. Sl. Enoch 62 2.
- 110 According to B
- 111 Tē'zāza Sanbat, *passim*
- 112 According to B
- 113 According to B
- 114 II Baruch 48 12 "For in a little time we are born and in a little time do we return "
- 115 Cf Eth Apoc Peter, p 511. "So soon as the shoot thereof is come forth and the twigs grown, the end of the world shall come "
- 116 The text has "that comes not "

117. The text has "deviate."
 118. Exod. 20 2 ff; Deut. 5· 6 ff.
 119. The last section is translated on the basis of B.

Testament of Abraham

1. See Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p. 84, M. Guttmann, *Mafteah hattalmud* (Budapest, 1906), 1, 385-387; *Legends*, 5, 267.

2 It must be noted that the Testament of Abraham is a work quite distinct from the Apocalypse of Abraham with which it has some connections

3. *The Testament of Abraham*. The Greek text, with an introduction and notes by M. R. James and an Appendix containing in translation extracts from the Arabic version of the Testament of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob by W. E. Barnes, appears in J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies* (Cambridge, 1892), Vol. 2, No 2 An English translation is given by W. A. Craigie in A. Menzies, ed., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1925), 9, 183-201, and by Box, *Testament Abraham*, pp 1-54. Extracts from the two Greek versions of the Testament of Abraham are given in *Legends*, 1, 299-306 A brief summary is given in L. Ginzberg, "Abraham, Testament of," *JE*, 1, 93-95, and by J. Kaufmann, "Abrahams Testament," *EJ*, 1, 561-564 For the bibliography see also Schurer, *Geschichte*, 3, 338-339

4. The editor of the text, M. R. James (see above, n 3), discusses in detail the relation of the recensions, the problem of authorship, and all the other relevant questions He arrives at the conclusion that the work was written in the second century, that it embodies earlier legends, and that it received its present form perhaps in the ninth or tenth century. Certain indications seem to point to Egypt as its home (James, *Testament Abraham*, p 29). "The author was a Christian, a Jewish Christian, but still a Christian" (*ibid*, pp 23, 50 ff.). The non-Jewish origin of the work is also admitted by Schurer, *Geschichte*, 3, 338. Other scholars, like K. Kohler ("The Pre-Talmudic Haggada," *JQR*, 7, 581-606), L. Ginzberg ("Abraham, Testament of," *JE*, 1, 93-96), and Box (*Testament Abraham*, pp. xv-xx), claim both a Jewish character and origin of the work. Whether the author was an Essene (Kohler, *op. cit*, pp. 581 ff.) or a Pharisee is difficult to determine (Ginzberg, *op cit.*, p. 96). It was probably composed early enough to be entirely free of Christian influences, and Alexandria would appear likely as its place of origin (Box, *Testament Abraham*, pp. xix-xx). According to some scholars the Greek text may be based upon a Hebrew text but is not a translation from the Hebrew.

5. For an account of the Slavonic texts see D Bonwetsch in A Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 1 (Leipzig, 1893), 914-915; and G. Polivka, "Die apokryphische Erzählung vom Tode Abrahams," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 18 (1896), 112-125.

6 The Rumanian text is a form of the longer recension, abridged in places. It was published, together with a translation, by M Gaster, "The Apocalypse of Abraham," *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 9 (1887), 195-226.

7. The Coptic version of the Testament of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob has been published, without translation, by I. Guidi, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei*

Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Ser 5, 9 (1900), 157-180, 223-264. The Testaments of Isaac and Jacob have been translated into German by E. Anderson, "Isaks Vermachtuis," *Sphinx* 7 (1903), 77-94, 129-142; and into English by S. Gaselee in Box, *Testament Abraham*, pp. 54-89.

8 The Arabic version is preserved as MS 132, fols. 1-24 (ancient fonds 71, and not No 1, as in Aescoli, note p 89) in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, together with the Testament of Isaac and Jacob (Baron de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris, 1883-95], pp. 28-29). Parts of the manuscript have been published by Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, pp. 200-202. Extracts from the Arabic have been translated into English by W. Barnes in James, *Testament Abraham*, pp. 133-161. Abraham's story begins with Abraham in Heaven; some passages of the beginning have been freely translated in James, *ibid.*, pp. 35 ff

Other Arabic manuscripts of the Testament of Abraham are in the Library of the Vatican, see J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (Rome, 1725), Part 1, 3, 285, 286; A. Maus, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* (Rome, 1831), 4, 312, cod. 171

Abraham's death is also mentioned in various legends and traditions, cf G Weil, *Biblical Legends*, pp 95-96, Gotthel, "Abraham," *JE*, 1, 87-90; J. Eisenberg, "Ibrāhīm," *Enc Isl*, 2, Part 1, 431-432; B. Heller, "Abraham," *EJ*, 1, 394-400.

9. Éthiopien MS, 58, fols. 5v^o-27, of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, together with the story of deaths and ascensions of Isaac and Jacob (Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, pp 200-203). This manuscript seems to contain only the second part of the Testament in a recension which is different from the Falasha version of the MS d'Abbadie, 107.

10 *Nuovi appunti*, pp. 228-229

11. J. Fatlowitch, *Quer durch Abessinen* (Berlin, 1910), p 95.

12. Nahase is the twelfth month of the Ethiopian calendar. It corresponds to the period from the sixth of August to the sixth of September.

13. Conti Rossini, *Appunti*, p. 583, *Nuovi appunti*, p 228

14. Arabic Atanasios, born ca. 293 A.D.

15. This is possibly the name of a book. Cf the Ethiopic title of the writing *Maxgaba Haymanot*, "Treasury of Faith"

16. This passage is taken from the Arabic manuscript as given in Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, p 200. It is missing in the Ethiopic text.

17 The Geez *'atal* is not found in the dictionaries, it is a transliteration of the Arabic *'atal*.

18 As in the Arabic text. The shorter recension of the Greek text has three hundred, which Ginzberg, "Abraham, Testament of," *JE*, 1, 94, amends to *'asel*, which has the numerical value of 331. On the speaking tree see James, *Testament Abraham*, pp 59-64

19. The text is here corrupt and repetitious.

20. The text is corrupt.

21 This passage is taken from the Arabic text as freely translated in James, *Testament Abraham*, pp. 36-37. Without this link the Ethiopic text is not understandable at all. The last part is found in the Ethiopic text but in a very corrupt form

22 The Ethiopic text has *salā'tēya*, "my enemies" It seems to be a misunderstood translation of the Arabic *qrn*, which when read *qarn* means "horn, ray" and when read *qurn* means "enemy"

23 For the sun and moon symbolizing father and mother see Joseph's dream (Gen 37 9).

24 Thus in the Arabic text

25 This is perhaps to be identified with the Holy Spirit, cf E Littmann, "Abyssinian Apocalypses," *AJSL*, 19 (1902), 95 "And upon his head (Holy Ghost) is planted a sign of light"

26 The Ethiopic text has to be corrected here.

27 The text seems to be repetitious

28. Some other chosen ones in addition to Abraham were brought to Heaven to receive revelations and then returned to earth The biblical prototype of these is Moses, who ascended to God in order to receive the Torah Baruch, as indicated in the Greek and Ethiopic Apocalypses of Baruch, had a similar experience Even in postbiblical times persons were elevated to receive revelations in Paradise In addition to those mentioned many others such as Enoch and Elijah were taken into Heaven to remain there See L Ginzberg, "Ascension," *JE*, 2, 164-165 For the ascension of Mohammed see Asin, *Islam*, pp 75-76

29 It is to be noted that God is here called "Father" which seems to be a Christian element.

30 Some Arabic phrase like *qāla l-qā'ilu* might be the prototype of this obscure word The Arabic text of MS 132 (see above, n 8) has no analogous expression

31 For other names given to Abraham see M Guttman, *Mafteah hattalmud* (Budapest, 1906), 1, 388-397, M Guttman, "Abraham," *EJ*, 1, 383

32 Enoch, too, is exalted to Heaven on clouds; see Sl Enoch 3 3, I Enoch 14 8 For the Virgin see Apoc Virgin, pp. 53, 46

33. L Ginzberg, "Abraham, Testament of," *JE*, 1, 96, considers "Ocean" a mistranslation for *yam haggadol*, "the great sea"

34. Note the use of the first person, as in the Arabic text The longer version of the Greek text first uses the third person but changes later to the first person Box, *Testament Abraham*, p 19, n 4, considers the first person more original in this type of literature

35. The Arabic text has "twelve times"

36. Added from the Arabic text

37. This translation is based on the Arabic text The Ethiopic text has here a corrupt word, *'ēm'a'lālāhā*, which is probably to be corrected to *'ēm'a'bālāhā* "[that go out] from their bodies."

38 The episode of the two gates is based on Matt 7 13 and other passages of the New Testament, according to James, *Testament Abraham*, p 52, but Ginzberg, "Abraham, Testament of," *JE*, 1, 95, and Kaufmann, "Abrahams Testament," *EJ*, 1, 564, adduce several Jewish and Greek sources to prove that the idea of the two gates—the small one the gate of life and the large one the gate of death—is not only Christian but also Jewish In Sl Enoch 30 15 the figure of the two ways occurs the way of light and the way of darkness; cf also, Jer 31 8 "Behold, I set before thee the way of life and the way of death"

39 "Woe," according to the Arabic text, the Ethiopic text is corrupt The

Arabic text tells here of a single soul whose sins were counterbalanced by good actions, so that the angels took it into eternal life

40 The Ethiopic text seems corrupt. The Arabic text reads "And I also am a man who dwells in a material body, and I know not whether they will let me enter by the small gate without my suffering tortures for twelve years"

41. The text is here repetitious and corrupt

42 Cf Gospel of Bartholomew, Secs 33-34 (James, pp 169-170)

43 This conversation between Michael and Abraham about the number of deaths and births which take place daily is not found in the Greek text

44. The Ethiopic, "if there is injustice day or night, and how many are born every day?" does not belong here

45 The Arabic text has 99,999

46. In the Arabic, "encircling it with opprobrium like a thief"

47. For the books recording the deeds of men see above, p 52.

48 In the Arabic text God calls witnesses Three witnesses accuse the soul of murder and adultery, of luxurious living, and of deceit.

49. Cf. Apoc Paul, Sec 17. "The soul answered and said 'I have not sinned.' And God said '. . . Yet here no thing is hidden.'"

50. The Ethiopic text adds *wārēzā*, "young man," after *'aragāwi*, "old man."

51 On Enoch as scribe see above, p 67 and p. 167 n. 64.

52 The Ethiopic *ṣaw'a* seems to be superfluous

53. The Ethiopic *iasamta* should be read *tamasta*

54. The appearance of an angel often has a prostrating effect in the apocalyptic writings Dan 8 17, 10 8, 16, Ezek. 1 28, 3 23

55 The weakness of his sight is not mentioned in the Greek version It is reminiscent of Gen 27 1, "and it came to pass, that Isaac was old, and his eyes were dim . . ."

56 The Ethiopic *rē'ēsēnnā* should be corrected to *rēsē'ēnnā*

57 This conversation between Abraham and Isaac is not mentioned in the Greek text

58 Cf Hebrew *mar hammaueṭ* (I Sam 15 32) and *sam hammaueṭ*, which are an allusion to Sammael, the Angel of Death (Ginzberg, "Abraham, Testament of," JE, 1, 95).

59 The Ethiopic *'a'māṭ*, "servants," is probably to be corrected to *'ēmāṭ*, "mothers."

60. This disguise is considered necessary lest Abraham, as Moses did after him, drive Death off at once by using the power of the Holy Name (Ginzberg, "Abraham, Testament of," JE, 1, 95)

61. Usually said about God "No man can see God and live" (Exod 33 20)

62 The idea of Death having a son may be derived from Job 18 13, "the first-born of death"

63. Here Abēlrēlyos, below his name appears as Abrālāryos. It is a false transliteration of the Arabic Atarlimos (Arabic *b* without the dot might be mistaken for *t*) The Greek text makes no mention of the son of the Angel of Death. According to James, *Testament Abraham*, p 49, the introduction of Atarlimos, or Pestilence, may very likely be drawn from current popular etymology, and it seems to describe the true Egyptian plague. The second part of Atarlimos probably reflects the Greek *limos*, *loimos*, "plague."

- 64 In the longer Greek version seven thousand servants die
 65. The Arabic text has "He received it in garments white as snow" Cf. also, the text in *Jubilees* 23 2, "And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice"
 66 In Arabic, one hundred and seventy-five years See also, Gen 25. 7
 67. In the Old Testament *bēne heḡ* (Gen 25 10).
 68 See above, n 29.

Death of Moses

1 A Greek version of the entire work appeared about the first century A.D., and was translated into Latin not later than the fifth century It is only the Latin translation which has been preserved, and a large part of it was discovered by A. M. Ceriani in a sixth-century manuscript in the Ambrosian Library in Milan. See Charles, *Apocrypha*, 2, 407-424; M. Rosenfeld, *Der Midrasch Deuteronomium rabba . . . über den Tod Moses' verglichen mit der Assumptio Mosis* (Berlin, 1899) There is no agreement among scholars as to the exact date of its composition, see Schurer, *Geschichte*, 3, 295-305, G. Holscher, "Über die Entstehungszeit der Himmelfahrt Moses," *ZNW*, 17 (1916), 108-127, 149-158, G. Kuhn, "Zur Assumptio Mosis," *ZAW*, 43 (1925), 124-129; Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, pp. 678-679

2. For a bibliography see R. H. Charles, *The Assumption of Moses* (Oxford, 1897), xviii-xxviii; *Apocrypha*, 2, 409, Mayer Abraham, *Légendes juives apocryphes sur la vie de Moïse* (Paris, 1925), pp. 28-45, A. Rosmarin, *Moses im Lichte der Agada* (New York, 1932), pp. 133-149 For the contents of these legends see J. Z. Lauterbach, "Moses," *JE*, 9, 53-54, *Legends*, 3, 417-481

3. See H. Malter, "Der Tod Moses nach der aethiopischen Ueberlieferung," *MGWJ* (1907), p. 708, n. 1; and especially, A. Fleischhacker, *Der Tod Moses' nach der Sage* (Halle, 1888); Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1, 753-756

4. For the edition of these midrashim see A. Jellinek, *Beḡ Hammidrāš* (1853), 1, xxi-xxii, 115-129, (1877), 2, xxi-xxiii, 71-78, Eisenstein, 'Osar, pp. 361-385

5. For the Arabic texts and legends concerning the death of Moses see Weil, *Biblical Legends*, pp. 166-170; Grunbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 182-185; al-Kisā'i, *Vita prophetarum*, 1, 239-240 An Arabic manuscript of the Death of Moses is also mentioned in P. Asbat, "Manuscripts orientaux de la Bibliothèque Asbat," *ROC*, Ser 3, 2 (1920-21), 299

6. Halévy, *RSem* (1906), p. 383 In Jewish legends Moses refuses to die in order to be able to witness the entry of the Israelites into Palestine.

7 A. Jellinek, *Beḡ Hammidrāš*, 1, xxi, Rosenfeld, *Der Midrasch Deuteronomium rabba*, pp. 91-96.

8 To judge from the reference by Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883-95), p. 75, it would more likely be fol. 73

9. A does not have this beginning

10 The Ethiopic equivalent of Amram is 'Enbaram.

11 The passage is missing in A

12. These words are lacking in the Ethiopic manuscripts, they are added by Fastlowitch in his edition

13 Taken from A, F has "will pray to me."

14. F has "will believe in me"
15. F has "in the uppermost sky."
16. This last sentence is missing in F, Fatlowitch adds in his translation, "I shall give them a happy life and a prompt mercy."
17. A adds "in the world."
18. The figure of the grain of the mustard seed is found several times in the New Testament Matt. 13 31, 17 20, Mark 4 31 It is used to express a very small quantity (Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1, 669).
19. This conversation between God and Moses is not found in the Arabic text. According to Fatlowitch, *Moia Musē*, p. 21, n. 3, the Arabic MS, 1213, fol. 128r^o, of the Bibliothéque Nationale contains an analogous fragment.
20. In the Arabic text Moses also asks in what country and from what illness he will die
21. It is important to note that the day of Moses' death is a Friday, the Moslem day of rest According to Jewish sources Moses was to die the seventh of Adar, which was a Saturday. Later sources, however, fixed the seventh of Adar as falling on a Friday, but the correspondence of the Ethiopic text with the Arabic in this respect is significant (see H. Malter, "Der Tod Moses nach der athiopischen Überlieferung," *MGWJ* [1907], p. 711, n. 1).
22. Mount Sinai is in the Arabic text as well; in the Bible it occurs as Mount Nebo.
23. F has "Art thou the one who said to me?"
24. The Angel of Death also frightened Abraham, see Testament of Abraham, p. 100 and p. 179 n. 54.
25. A has *š'ēmīa*, the reading *š'ēmīa* of F does not yield a good meaning
26. See Malter, *MGWJ* (1907), p. 711, n. 3, Ginzberg, *Jüdische Sekte* (New York, 1922), pp. 35-37, 245, Aescoli, "Les noms magiques," *JA* (1932), pp. 123, 126, J. H. Polotsky, "Sunel der Trompeter," *Muséon* (1936), pp. 231-243, and especially, p. 234, n. 10, on Suryäl and his relation to Uriel. Extensive references on Suryäl are also found in E. Peterson, "Engel- und Damonennamen Nomina barbara," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, NS, 75 (1926), 418-419. In the midrashim it is Sammael who is also considered as the Angel of Death, see Eisenstein, 'Osar, pp. 369, 370; A. Kohut, *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus* (Leipzig, 1866), pp. 62-72; Asc. Is., pp. 6, 7.
27. F has "to take."
28. That is, 9 o'clock, the morning starting at 6 o'clock, if we consider the Ethiopian way of counting the hours
29. According to the Arabic text Moses said, "O Angel of Death, this day is not the one promised to me, since the Lord promised a Friday. By God, I ask thee to go away." The Angel of Death left, went up to Heaven, and Moses went sad and disconsolate to his home and the home of his children.
30. Taken from A.
31. Taken from A.
32. Exod 33 11, Num 12 8
33. Taken from A.
34. Taken from A, F has *mēr'a*, "moment."
35. Taken from A.

36 Taken from A

37 In the Arabic text the children are those of his brother Aaron and they stay with Moses' mother

38 According to the Arabic text he puts his children on his shoulders, one on his right shoulder and the other on his left, and takes them to the field

39 Taken from A

40 In Jewish midrashim (see Deut Rabba 7 5, and elsewhere), the name of Pharaoh's daughter is Bitya, on the basis of I Chron 4 18, which is interpreted in the Talmud as Baṭ-ya(h), "God's daughter." The name of Thermutis is found in Josephus, *Antiquities*, 2, 9, 5, 7, and in *Jubilees* 47.5 (Tharmuth), in other sources her name is Thermit. The Arabic text does not mention Pharaoh's daughter in this connection.

41. There is an allusion here to Moses' crossing of the Red Sea after causing it to part by hitting it with the staff. This passage runs in a more logical way in the Arabic version mentioned by Weil, *Biblical Legends*, p. 167 "Allah said to him 'In whom trusted thy mother when she confided thy life to the water?' 'In Thee, O Lord' 'Who protected thee against Pharaoh, and gave thee a staff with which thou didst divide the sea?' 'Thou, O Lord' 'Go then, once more, to the sea-shore, lift up thy staff over the water, and thou shalt see another sign of my omnipotence' "

42 A has "and thou wilt not return from there any more."

43 The Arabic text of Fautlowitch, as well as other Arabic sources (see Weil, *Biblical Legends*, p 169), and the Jewish midrashim (see A. Jellinek, *Beṭ Hamidrāš*, 6, 75), report a lengthy conversation between the Angel of Death and Moses concerning the part of the body from which the angel will extract Moses' soul

44 The Arabic text speaks of four angels, the Jewish sources have three or six angels; the Arabic sources cited in Grunbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p 183, speak of angels without specifying the number; the second Arabic text published by Fautlowitch, *Mota Musē*, p 36, speaks of men and not of angels

45. Taken from A.

46. In this rather humorous description Malter, *MGWJ* (1907), p 714, n. 1, sees proof that the Ethiopic text is based on the Arabic, since the nonserious tone is characteristic of the Arabic concept, rather than on Jewish sources in which the death of Moses has a tragic aspect

Prayers

1 In several instances my translation differs from that of Halévy; the differences in the translation are not pointed out in the notes. The translation of the Prayers given here begins with page 3 of Halévy, *Prières des Falashas*

2 The text has here "Praised be God who gave me the book of Abbā Sāquyān, the only God will help me" According to Halévy Abbā Sāquyān is considered the founder of the monastic institution. For another founder see Introduction, p xxv

3 The text has "our heart"

4 Halévy adds Sāquyān, see above, n. 2.

5 The text has 'ēmdabub 'ēška samēn, which can also mean "from south to north" or even the other way around

6. Correct 'aswāk to 'aswāq.
- 7 Ps 136: 9.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Ps. 104: 4.
10. On the four animals see Ezek 1.
11. The word 'abbā follows.
- 12 The text has "Herok."
13. The text is partially corrupt.
14. The text has *sarāryān*, "winged fowl", with the change of the second *r* to *f* the word may be interpreted as "seraphum."
- 15 Sic. For the idea of breaking the teeth of the sinners see I Enoch 46 4, Ps 3. 7
16. Prov 10 3
17. On the heavens see p. 160 n. 16.
18. The word *xayzēt* of the text is to be corrected to *xaylat*
19. *Falāsyān* means "monks." I wonder, however, whether it is not an allusion to the name of the Falashas.
20. Ps. 18 11.
- 21 Literally, "the vigilants."
- 22 For the interpretation of some of the magical names see Aescoli, "Les noms magiques," *JA* (1932), pp. 87-138.
- 23 The text repeats here *ba'amsāla*.
24. Probably identical with *Nolāwz* (below) "shepherd"
25. *Lāho* is probably the Agau (Cushitic) word for "one". *lāwa*, *lāxu*, etc.
26. *Matari* is miswritten for *mahāri*
- 27 The text is corrupt
- 28 Sēnir is the Amorite name for Hermon in Deut. 3 9 Halévy translates it as "heaven."
- 29 Book of the Angels, *passim*
30. The text is slightly corrupt
31. The text has here Zar'a Ya'qob, who probably was the owner of the manuscript.
32. The text has here *ba'ēdawihomu*, "in their hands."
33. The text is slightly corrupt
34. The text has "His strength."
- 35 The text has here an obscure word, 'ēroḳētēqa, the second element *tēqa* meaning "very."
- 36 The text adds, "because of a man, a son indeed, He saved him "
37. *Mahā'i* is miswritten for *mahāri*.
- 38 *Šanāda* is erroneous for *šanāy*
39. The text is corrupt.
- 40 See above, n. 19.
41. Job 26 7.
42. *Surāhe* is miswritten for *subāhe*
43. *Yēnadēh.* is miswritten for *yēnasēh.*
- 44 One would expect "He puts to shame the wealthy."
- 45 The text is corrupt
46. The text has some obscure words.

47. On Sutā'el see above, p. 165 n 32.
48. The text has "spirit."
49. The text is slightly corrupt.
50. *M'alt* is miswritten for *b'alāt*
51. See also, Baruch, p. 76
52. The translation of the Prayers ends with page 50 of Halévy, *Prières des Falashas*

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

- Abba Elijah—See this Anthology, pp. 40-49.
- Acts of Philip—See James, *Apocryphal N.T.*, pp. 439-453.
- Acts of Thomas—See James, *Apocryphal N.T.*, pp. 364-438.
- Adam and Eve—The Books of Adam and Eve. Trans. L. S. A. Wells in Charles, *Apocrypha*, 2, 123-154.
- Aescoli—A. Z. Aescoli, *Sefer Hafalašim*. Jerusalem, 1943. In Hebrew.
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- Apoc. Gorgorios—Apocalypse of Gorgorios. See this Anthology, pp. 77-91.
- Apoc. Paul—Apocalypse of Paul. See James, *Apocryphal N.T.*, pp. 525-555.
- Apoc. Peter, Akhm. Fr.—Apocalypse of Peter. The Akhmim Fragment. See James, *Apocryphal N.T.*, pp. 507-510.
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Enc. Isl.—*Encyclopedia of Islam*

Enc. Rel. Ethics—*Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*

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- JE—*Jewish Encyclopedia*.
- JQR—*Jewish Quarterly Review*.
- JRAS—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
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- NKGWG—*Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.
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ROC—*Revue de l'Orient chrétien.*

RSem—*Revue des études sémitiques.*

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ZNW—*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

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ZS—*Zeitschrift für Semitistik.*

ZWT—*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.*

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GLOSSARY

- amolye*, bar of salt (xxvii)
anaḳēl astar'ı, Fast of Our Day of Atonement (xxxiv)
araft, place of repose (xxii)
arfe asart, name of a monthly festival (xxix, xxx)
asart, Festival of the Tenth (xxx)
asartu wasamantu, Festival of the Eighteenth (xxxı)
asra ammēst, Festival of the Fifteenth (xxx)
asra hulat, Festival of the Twelfth (xxx)
astar'ayo, *astar'e*, *astaryo*, *astarsēyo*, Day of Atonement (xxxiv)
attēnḳuñ, do not touch me, name given to the Falashas (xl)
awd, area of sacrifice (xxvii)
ba'al (Geez), festival (xxviii)
ba'ala maşallat, Feast of Tabernacles (xxxii)
başerond, treasurer (xl)
bal (Amharic), festival (xxviii)
bērhan sārraqa, Festival of the Light Has Appeared (xxxıı)
beta Israel, House of Israel, name of the Falashas (ix)
čēḳı, Festival of the Tenth (xxx)
čēḳı ankwa, Festival of the Fifteenth (xxx)
čēḳı linga, Festival of the Twelfth (xxx)
čēlqa, drink made of water mixed with flax or other seeds (xxxı)
đabtara, learned man (xxiii)
ēlēll ēlēll, sound of joy (xı)
emen, reminder (xxxiv)
ensaslaye, eve of the day in which the newly married woman is
brought to the home of her husband (xvii)
fallasa, emigrate (ix)
fasıḳa, Passover (xxxı)
fēč, divorce (xviii)
gēzrat, circumcision (xvi)
Isı ael, Israel, name of the Falashas (ix)
ḳahēn, priest (xxiii)
ḳayla, name of the Falashas (ix)
langati, Sabbath of the Sabbaths (xxxı)
ma'ıar, Festival of the Harvest (xxxı, xxxıı)

- manoḳse*, monk (xxv)
maqdas, shrine (xxii)
māsgīd, synagogue (xxi)
māswa(')ēt, offerings (xxvii)
mēhlēlla, Fast of Supplication (xxxiv)
nazer, animal who develops white spots after it has been born (xx)
orit, Torah (xxviii)
qēddēsta qēddusan, Holy of Holies (xxii)
qes, title of priest (xxv)
qīṭa, unleavened bread (xxxi)
q^wērban, sacrifice (xxvi)
sanbat salam, Sabbath peace (xxxiii)
sarḳi, Festival of the New Moon (xxx)
šamma, toga (xxiv)
šamye, necklace (xiii)
šalot, prayer (xxviii)
šom, fast day (xxviii, xxxiii)
šoma ab, Fast of Ab (xxxiv)
šoma amus, Fast of Thursday (xxxiii)
šoma aster, Fast of Esther (xxxv)
šoma faṣīḳa, Fast of Passover (xxxiv)
šoma malēya, name of a fast (xix, xxxiii)
šoma tomos, Fast of Tomos (Tammuz) (xxxiv)
tazḳar, remembrance day (xix)
tazḳarā abraham, Festival of Commemoration of Abraham (xxxii)
tēllēq ḳahēn, High Priest (xxiv)
yačaraqa bal, Festival of the Moon (xxx)
yadam goḡo, hut of blood (xiv)
yamargām goḡo, hut of malediction (xiv)
yānēssēha abbat, confessor (xxxvi)
yaras goḡo, hut of the woman in childbed (xiv)
yasanbat sanbat, Sabbath of Sabbaths (xxxi)
zabarabū' sanbat, Third(?) Sabbath of the Fourth moon (xxx1)

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